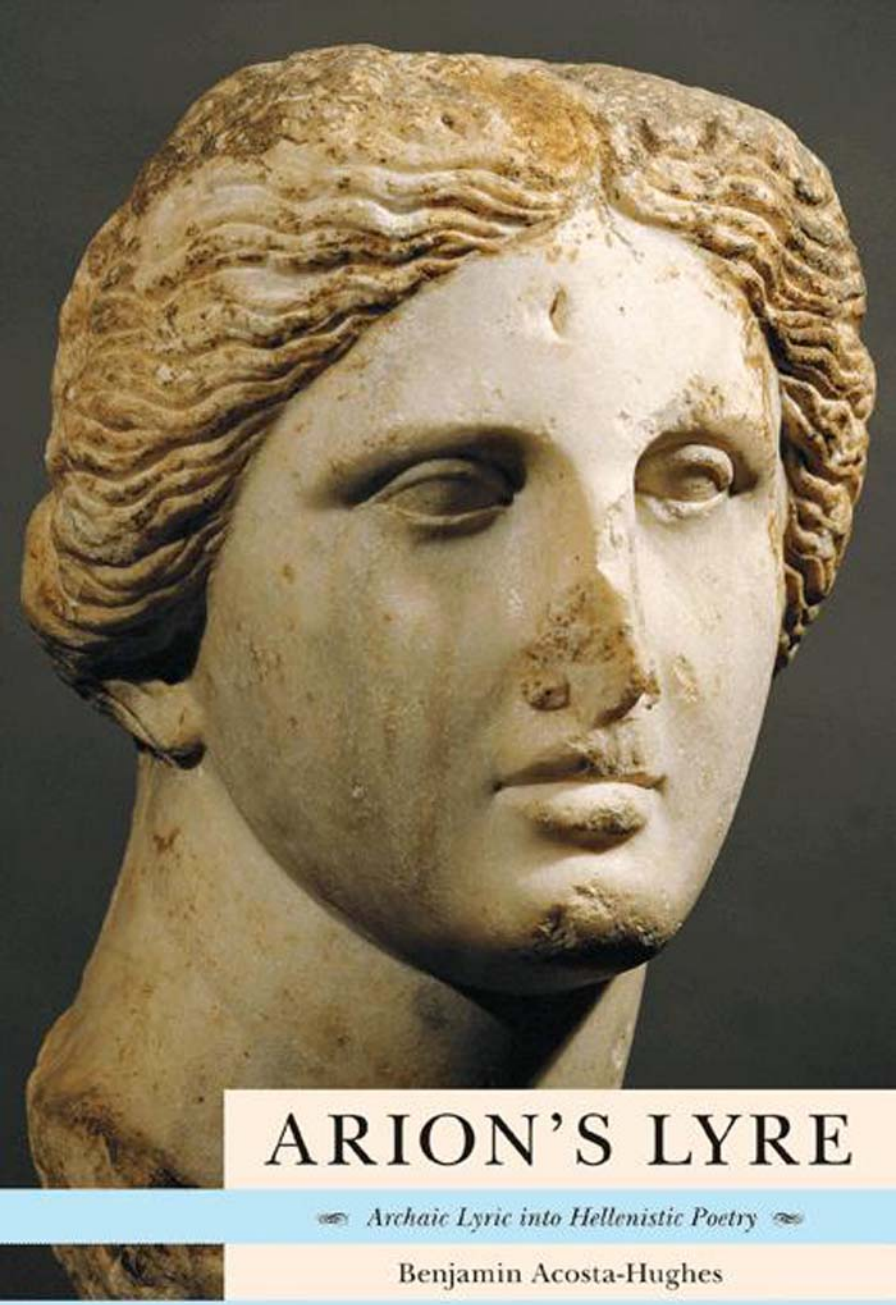

ARION'S LYRE

Archaic Lyric into Hellenistic Poetry

Benjamin Acosta-Hughes

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ARCHAIC LYRIC INTO HELLENISTIC POETRY

Benjamin Acosta-Hughes

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For Susan

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En el vocabulario crítico, la palabra *precursor* es indispensable, pero habría que tratar de purificarla de toda connotación de polémica o de rivalidad. El hecho es que cada escritor *crea* sus precursores. Su lavor modifica nuestra concepción del pasado, como ha de modificar el futuro. En esta correlación nada importa la identidad o la pluralidad de los hombres.

—Jorge Luis Borges, "Kafka y sus precursores"

Nimm sie hin, denn, diese Lieder,
Die ich dir, Geliebte, sang,
Singe sie dann Abends wieder
Zu der Laute süssem Klang!

Wenn das Dämm'rungsrot dann ziehet
Nach dem stillen blauen See,
Und sein letzter Strahl verglühet
Hinter jener Bergeshöh',

Und du singst, was ich gesungen,
Was mir aus der vollen Brust
Ohne Kunstgepräng' erklungen,
nur der Sehnsucht nich bewusst.

Dann vor diesen Liedern weichet,
Was geschieden uns so weit,
Und ein liebend Herz erreichet,
Was ein liebend Herz geweiht.

—Alois Jeitteles, "An die ferne Geliebte"

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Preface

At the time when I began what was to become the seven-year engagement of writing this book, Simonides' Plataea elegy was still very much at the center of recent discoveries of Archaic lyric and of its post-Archaic reception. The publication of the collection edited by D. Boedeker and D. Sider (2001) opened new realms of discussion of poets and heroization, and the subsequent heroization of poets, and of the process through which a singer becomes a memorialized cultural figure. In the course of the composition of *Arion's Lyre* two more *trouvailles* came to cast new light on the reception and preservation of the voices of Archaic Greek lyric in a later period. The first was the papyrological publication of G. Bastianini and C. Gallazzi (2001) with the collaboration of C. Austin (*P.Mil.Vogl.* VIII 309). A collection of 112 epigrams attributed to the third-century-BCE Macedonian poet Posidippus of Pella, this papyrus provided stunning evidence of, among many other features of Ptolemaic Alexandria, an iconography of the singers of Archaic lyric in imitation, anecdote, and reference. There followed the publication by R. Daniels and M. Gronewald (2004) of a new Sappho fragment (*P.Köln* Inv. Nr. 21351 + *P.Oxy.* 1787 [fr. 58]) that not only thematically prefigures several poems by later artists but that such later poets knew well and consciously imitated. The finding of this new Sappho fragment was a discovery, as it were, of both a poem and its later reception.

Each of these discoveries has come to play a significant role in this book's composition, one that I could not have foreseen when I first embarked on a study of the Hellenistic reception of Archaic lyric. Each has exemplified the process of reception at two levels: Alexandria's engagement with Archaic lyric, and our understanding of Archaic lyric as mediated by its later Alexandrian reception. In a sense *Arion's Lyre*, or at any rate its composition, has been perhaps paradoxically the result of the very process that it set to out to examine—the cultural impact of earlier songs and singers on a later audience.

My work on this volume was greatly facilitated by the generosity of several institutions, among them the Department of Classical Studies at the University of Michigan, which provided two semesters of leave, and the Harvard Center for Hellenic Studies, which furnished me a splendid setting for the initial work on *Arion's Lyre* in the academic year 2001–2. I finished the last stages of composition at the École Normale Supérieure in Lyon and wish to express my gratitude here to its director, O. Faron, and my friend and colleague C. Cusset. I gratefully acknowledge a subvention grant from the College of Arts and Humanities at The Ohio State University that underwrote final preparation of this

volume, and wish in particular to thank Fritz Graf, chair of the Department of Greek and Latin, for his support of my application for this subvention.

For their kind and generous attention to my ideas, often inchoate, on Archaic lyric and Hellenistic poetry, I owe thanks above all to my graduate students in several seminars that I offered at the University of Michigan during my tenure there. Thanks are also owed to my students at Roma Tre and to audiences where I have delivered papers that were to become larger sections of this study, at Aix-en-Provence, Bologna, Columbia University, Edmonton, Macerata, Milan, Naples, Pisa, and Venice.

The following scholars made their work available to me prior to its publication, and I would like to express my gratitude to them here: M. Di Marco, Y. Durbec, A. Harder, and G. Massimilla.

For ongoing support on this project, and for their friendship and their collegial generosity, I would like to thank P. Asso, S. Barbantani, L. Battezzato, A.-T. Cozzoli, M. Cuypers, V. Garulli, M. Giuseppetti, L. Lehnus, the late R. Pretagostini, R. Scodel, C. de Stefani, and A. Verhoogt.

For his careful copyediting of the final manuscript I thank P. Psoinos. B. Calabrese proved an excellent editorial critic at a crucial stage of final composition. J. Acosta-Hughes has been a source of unending support and encouragement, and I thank him here.

Several scholars read part or all of this manuscript at different stages of its composition. I would like to thank first the two anonymous readers for Princeton University Press, who offered a wealth of helpful criticism. E. Magnelli read the entire manuscript, providing me with invaluable commentary, and I wish to express my heartfelt thanks to him here. I would also like to acknowledge the ongoing support and generous counsel that I have received through the past several years from M. Fantuzzi and R. Hunter.

S. A. Stephens has encouraged my interest in Hellenistic poetry from the very beginning. She has been a tireless reader and critic of my work and is a much valued coauthor and a beloved friend. To her *Arion's Lyre* is dedicated, in admiration, affection, and gratitude.

A very early version of various sections of chapters 1 and 5 appeared as "Lyric Apollonius" in A. Martina and A.-T. Cozzoli, eds., *L'epos argonautico* (Rome: Herder, 2007): 199–235. The first section of chapter 3 appeared in an earlier version as the first section of "Bucolic Singers of the Short Song: Lyric and Elegiac Resonances in Theocritus' Bucolic *Idylls*" in M. Fantuzzi and T. Papanghelis, eds., *Brill's Companion to Greek and Latin Pastoral* (Leiden: Brill, 2006): 25–29. Short sections of chapters 2, 3, and 4, on Sappho, Alcaeus, and Anacreon in epigram, appeared in a shorter version as the section entitled "The Inscribed Voice: Lyric in Epigram" in an article coauthored with S. Barbantani, "Inscribing Lyric," in P. Bing and J. S. Bruss, eds., *Brill's Companion to Hellenistic Epigram* (Leiden: Brill, 2007): 445–57. An earlier version of the first section of chapter 2 appeared as "Unwilling Farewell and Complex Allusion (Sappho,

Callimachus and *Aeneid* 6.458)," in F. Cairns, ed., *Papers of the Langford Latin Seminar* 13 (2007): 1–11. Finally, the discussion of Theocritus, *Idyll* 2.148, and an allusion therein to the new Sappho fragment appeared in a shorter form as a note, "L'aurora dalle rosee braccia' . . . un nuovo testo e una vecchia lettura," *Appunti Romani di Filologia* 8 (2006): 75–76.

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Abbreviations

The names of ancient authors and the titles of their works are abbreviated in general according to the forms listed in the frontmatter pages of H. G. Liddell, R. Scott, and H. S. Jones, eds., *A Greek-English Lexicon*, 9th ed. (Oxford, 1968); of P.G.W. Glare, ed., *Oxford Latin Dictionary* (Oxford, 1982); and of S. Hornblower and A. Spawforth, eds., *The Oxford Classical Dictionary*, 3rd ed., rev. (Oxford, 2003). Papyrological collections, series, and the like are denoted by the abbreviations found in J. F. Oates et al., *Checklist of Editions of Greek Papyri and Ostraca*, 2nd ed., Bulletin of the American Society of Papyrologists, supplement 1 (Missoula, Mont., 1978). Abbreviations of journal titles are those found in the annual issues of *L'Année Philologique*, with a few small and familiar variations. Beyond the abbreviations noted below, editions of primary sources are noted in the citations, usually by the editor's name. The bibliography provides full references for the books and articles cited in the text and notes.

An. Gr.	J. A. Cramer, ed., *Anecdota Graeca e Codd. Manuscriptis Bibliothecarum Oxoniensium* (Oxford, 1835–37)
CIG	A. Boeckh, ed., *Corpus Inscriptionum Graecarum* (Berlin, 1828–77)
FGE	D. L. Page, ed., *Further Greek Epigrams* (Cambridge, 1981)
FGrH	F. Jacoby, ed., *Die Fragmente der griechischen Historiker* (Berlin and Leiden, 1923–58)
HE	A. S. F. Gow and D. L. Page, eds., *Hellenistic Epigrams* (Cambridge, 1965)
IEG^2	M. L. West, ed., *Iambi et Elegi Graeci*, 2nd ed. (Oxford, 1992)
IG	*Inscriptiones Graecae*
Marm. Par.	*Marmor Parium*
PMG	D. L. Page, ed., *Poeti Melici Graeci* (Oxford, 1962)
PMGF	M. Davies, ed., *Poetarum Melicorum Graecorum Fragmenta* (Oxford, 1991–)
SLG	D. L. Page, ed., *Supplementum Lyricis Graecis* (Oxford, 1974)
SH	H. Lloyd-Jones and P. Parsons, eds., *Supplementum Hellenisticum* (Berlin, 1983)
TGF	B. Snell et al., eds., *Tragicorum Graecorum Fragmenta* (Göttingen, 1971–)
TLS	*Times Literary Supplement*

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Arion's Lyre

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Introduction

Among the recently discovered roll of epigrams that have been attributed to the third-century-BCE poet Posidippus is a votive dedication that narrates an extraordinary journey. The lyre of the Archaic poet Arion migrates from the Archaic Greek world to Posidippus's Alexandria, where it finds itself an object of dedication in the shrine of his queen.[1]

VI	18		Ἀρσινόη, σοὶ τ̣ή̣[ν]δε λύρην ὑπὸ χειρ[……]ῦ̣	37
	19	•	φθεγξαμ[ένην] δ̣ελφὶς ἄγαγ᾽ Ἀριόνιο̣[ς
	20		ο̣υ̣..ε̣λου[….]ᾳς ἐκ κύματος αλλοτ[
	21		κεῖνος ἀν[….]ς λευκὰ περᾶι πελά[γη
	22		πολλᾳπο[….].τητι καὶ αἰόλα τῆι .[
	23		φωνῆι π[….]ακον κανον ἀηδοῦ[
	24		ἄνθεμα δ᾽, [ὦ Φιλ]ά̣δελφε, τὸν ἤλασεν [……]ίων,
	25		__ τόνδε δέ̣[χου, .]υσου μ‹ε›ίλια ναοπόλο̣[υ.

To you, Arsinoe, this lyre from the hand? (. . .) made to resound, Arion's dolphin brought. (. . .) from the wave (. . .), that one crossed the white sea—and many varied things (. . .)—with voice (. . .). As an offering, Brother(-loving one), receive this (which brought? . . .) gift from the temple guard.

Like other Hellenistic epigrams,[2] this one gives the reader a biography of the dedicated object and a narrative of journey, and names the person that dedicated it. All this is done in the manner of dedicatory inscription. Archaic lyric here lives on through its preservation, its recollection, and its patronage. But not without alteration. The lyric song is now transposed into the meter appropriate for a dedicatory inscription, elegiac couplets, which come increasingly to subsume much of the compositional space once occupied by lyric. And Archaic song lives on under the protection of a queen. Arsinoe's patronage not only enables new poets but also ensures preservation of the past.

While the text of this epigram has a number of lacunae that limit a conclusive reading, there is a clear contrast between past time and past singer, Archaic setting and Arion, and present time and the preservation of song. Zephyrium, site

[1] I give the text of the electronic version of the CHS site (http://chs.harvard.edu/chs/issue_1__posidippus), which has fewer conjectured readings than either the *editio princeps* of Bastianini and Gallazzi 2001 or the edition of C. Austin and Bastianini 2002.

[2] See, e.g., Callim. *Ep*. 14 GP (5 Pf.).

of Arsinoe's shrine and of the preservation of the lyre, comes to be the preservation of song. There is even the implicit parallel of Cape Taenarum and Cape Zephyrium, and the image of Arion at the one and his lyre at the other. Even in the poem's damaged state, it is possible to perceive a chiasmus in lines 1 and 2 of object-voice . . . voice-object: that is, lyre-voice . . . songs-lyre.

The epigram showcases the Hellenistic reception of Archaic lyric at multiple levels. This is true from the opening juxtaposition of dedicatee (Arsinoe) and object dedicated (the lyre)[3] to the final dedicatory inscription that makes a past instrument of lyric song the object of an elegiac text. The poem can stand on its own. But it is enriched by at least one model. This knowledge renders the text more intelligible and more effective. The model is the tale of Arion's own passage from sure death at the hands of pirates to safety on the back of a dolphin, a tale that ends with a reference to a small bronze statue of Arion at Cape Taenarum.

Herodotus 1.23 narrates Arion's journey from Tarentum to Corinth; Arion's voice and song, the dolphin, Arion's salvation, Arion's patron, Periander tyrant of Corinth, and the final dedication of a votive object are all significant features of the tale. But in Posidippus's poem it is not Arion or his human voice that is preserved, but the lyre. It is not the poet but the object that becomes the focus of attention in Arsinoe's temple. Arion's patron, Periander, plays a significant role in the earlier narrative. Arsinoe, also a ruler, also a patron of the arts, takes this role in Posidippus. The epigram concludes with a discrete reference to the temple guard who also watches over the dedicated lyre.[4] Herodotus's tale concludes with the figure of the votive object, though the name of the dedicator is absent. The one votive image, the singer riding on a dolphin, is transformed into another, the lyre borne by a dolphin, and the setting of the dedicatory image is transferred from Cape Taenarum to Cape Zephyrium and Arsinoe's shrine.

Another epigram of Posidippus, this one preserved in the *Greek Anthology*, details exactly such a transition from Archaic Greek past to Alexandrian present and a similar preservation of song. This is Posidippus 17 GP (122 AB), his epigram on the courtesan Doricha. Here the poet uses the fiction of sepulchral epigram to recall Sappho and highlight her poetry as text. Doricha (or Rhodopis, as we know her from the narrative of Herodotus 2.134–35), the *hetaira* who detains Sappho's brother Charaxus in Egypt and who figures in several of Sappho's extant fragments,[5] here occasions recall of Sappho and of her poetry:[6]

Δωρίχα, ὀστέα μὲν σὰ πάλαι κόνις ἠδ' ἀναδεσμός
χαίτης ἥ τε μύρων ἔκπνοος ἀμπεχόνη,

[3] This configuration is itself emblematic of the place Arsinoe II comes to have in the contemporary reception of lyric.

[4] Much of this part of the text is unsure; see Laudenbach 2002–3: 122.

[5] Frr. 15.11, 252, 254 (includes Hdt. 2.135); suppl. fr. 7.1.

[6] Text of line 1 after U. von Wilamowitz-Moellendorff, *Sappho und Simonides* (Berlin, 1913) 20. See further M. Albrecht, *The Epigrams of Posidippus of Pella* (Dublin, 1996), 73–74. The text

ἦ ποτε τὸν χαρίεντα περιστέλλουσα Χάραξον
σύχρους ὀρθρινῶν ἥψαο κισσυβίων·
Σαπφῶαι δὲ μένουσι φίλης ἔτι καὶ μενέουσιν
ᾠδῆς αἱ λευκαὶ φθεγγόμεναι σελίδες
οὔνομα σὸν μακαριστόν, ὃ Ναύκρατις ὧδε φυλάξει
ἔστ' ἂν ἴῃ Νείλου ναῦς ἐφ' ἁλὸς πελάγη.

Doricha, your bones are long dust, and the band of your hair, and your perfume-breathing robe, with which you once wrapped lovely Charaxus, and, one body, you took hold of the wine bowls in the morning. But Sappho's clear columns of lovely song remain and will still remain, giving voice to your blessed name, which Naucratis will so preserve as long as ship from the Nile sails on the high sea.

Here the lyric voice, and subject matter, of Sappho are recalled to Egypt as "voice-giving" physical texts that are inscribed, in turn, in epigram.[7] The first quatrain, with its movement from imagery of death to life and love, is paralleled in the second with progression from song to text to journey. Here the journey from Egypt replaces the image of the journey to the world of Archaic lyric, which is a standard conceit in Hellenistic poetry for signaling evocation of an Archaic poet.[8] This reflects both the onetime progress of Charaxus and, as P. A. Rosenmeyer has noted, the journey of the papyrus, the material setting of the φθεγγόμεναι σελίδες.[9] Posidippus applies the imagery of physical luxury, or *habrosynē*, for which Sappho's poetry was renowned, to the courtesan who once figured in Sappho's poetry. Μύρων ἔκπνοος is itself a matrix of Sappho's erotic imagery.

These short poems show the complexity of the reception of Archaic lyric in Hellenistic poetry. Its presence is at once the result of poetic imitation, the physical treatment of texts, and the creation of cultural memory in a new setting. The temple of Arsinoe-Aphrodite at Zephyrium is a construction of the third century. The dedication of Arion's lyre to Arsinoe brings Archaic song to the poet's Alexandria and sets Arsinoe within a much older patron-poet relationship. The preservation of Sappho's songs in papyrus columns ensures the continued singing of Charaxus and Doricha, both by Sappho and by the poet who now sings of her in epigram, Posidippus. Moreover, in both cases, a fifth-century prose author serves as an intermediate intertext for the reception of Arion and Sappho.

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preserved in Athenaeus is σ' ἁπαλὰ κοιμήσατο δεσμών; C. Austin, in his edition coauthored with G. Bastianini (Milan, 2002), 158, conjectures σὰ πάλαι κόνις ἦν ὅ τε δεσμός. Punctuation and subsequent translation of line 6 follow C. Austin and Bastianini 2002: 158.

[7] Cf. Barchiesi 2000: 290–91 n. 7.

[8] Krevans 1983: 213–15.

[9] P. Rosenmeyer 1997: 132; T. Hawkins suggested to me that the image of the ship's repeated journey at the poem's end may also may be meant to recall the familiar Egyptian image of the bark of the Sun.

This prose narrative underlines the role that earlier reception—whether through historical narrative (e.g., Herodotus), poetic biography (e.g., Chamaeleon), or even philosophical discussion—comes to play in the reception of this earlier poetic art in the Hellenistic period.[10]

The study of Hellenistic poetry has long been taken up with poetic allusion, but recent decades have seen a more methodologically consistent and nuanced approach to reading Hellenistic poetry in terms of its models. In part this development is due to the influence of intertextual studies in Latin poetry in the later twentieth century. Latin poets consciously associated their poetry with the poets of third-century Alexandria and later. Hence a better understanding of the poetics of imitation in Augustan Rome can shed light on the interrelations among the Alexandrians, who are the artistic models of the Romans. Similarly, an enhanced understanding of how the Romans use poetic models, and of the relationship of model text to later creation, puts the Hellenistic poets' varied and constant use of earlier poems in a far more creative light.

Intertextuality as a method in reading Latin poetry is a large subject. It is not the purpose of this introduction to provide a full-scale summary. Still, a few words are in order before we turn to some of the specific challenges of the present study in using intertextual reading for understanding Hellenistic poetry in the context of its lyric models.[11] Intertextuality, the systematic study of the interrelations between texts, came to prominence in the Anglophone world in the early 1980s through the work of, in particular, G. B. Conte, D. Fowler, S. Hinds, and A. Barchiesi. The modern theoretical discourse on intertextuality is a way of comprehending perceived phenomena, whether in literary text, film, music, or other media. The work of Conte and others brought the literary method of intertextuality to what had been no more than the compilation of parallels in texts. In other words, scholars have come to recognize that imitation is an art in itself, with its own dynamics of preservation, variation, and recreation. This leads to a refined understanding of ancient composition, one perhaps best first voiced by G. Pasquali in his pioneering study "L'arte allusiva" (1951) and encapsulated in the final line of that work, "l'allusione è il mezzo, l'evocazione il fine": allusion is the means; evocation, the end.[12] The Roman poets, as one critic has

[10] Plato and Aristotle, who discuss lyric poets and whose works serve, perhaps surprisingly, as both collection and commentary of some lyric fragments, figure here.

[11] Hubbard (1999: 7–18) provides one of the best brief surveys of the components that now constitute intertextuality as a method for reading ancient poetry. The confluence in Hubbard's approach of intertextuality with what Hubbard terms "literary filiation" (an author's engagement with a specific precursor in the tradition in which he is himself an artist: e.g., Catullus with Sappho qua lyric poet) is especially helpful in approaching a tradition like that of the Hellenistic poets, who engage their poetic tradition both as poetry-art and as poetry-text.

[12] For an excellent short introduction to the evolution of intertextuality as a method in Latin poetry studies, see Fowler in Hinds and Fowler 1997. Kristeva's original definition of intertextuality (1980: 69), which encompassed a broader definition of text(s) than what we would term "literary,"

put it, are composing in a tradition "that involves reading and reworking an earlier tradition."[13] To understand the product of their composition, one needs a sense of the components out of which they are creating their poetry—including their models and their approach to their models. Subsequently this line of criticism has benefited from related approaches in treating literary imitation, especially the structuralist criticism of G. Genette and M. Riffaterre, as well as the work of the Yale critic H. Bloom on the relational tension between artists and their models.[14] As an interpretive approach, intertextuality is particularly effective in understanding how texts are read in light of one another. For example, Virgil's "invitus, regina, tuo de litore cessi" ("unwillingly, Queen, I left your shore"), addressed to Dido by Aeneas in *Aeneid* 6, is affected by a reader's hearing the lament of Berenice's lock in Catullus 66.39: "invita, o regina, tuo de vertice cessi" ("unwillingly, Queen, I left your head"). The act of recall does not end with these two, but comes to involve other texts and relations of texts. These include the severing of a lock of Dido's hair just before her death at the conclusion of *Aeneid* 4, and Catullus's treatment of both Sappho and Callimachus, and the heritage, as it were, of one text's recurring in another.[15] The allusion is Virgil's recall of a line of Catullus, brought to our attention in standard commentaries as "Cf. Catull. 66.39." As an intertext, Catullus's poem brings to the reader a longer tradition of lament, and of the severed lock, which incorporates that of Dido at the moment of her death at the end of *Aeneid* 4, a passage that is linked to this one in *Aeneid* 6 through the recall of Berenice's severed lock in Catullus's poem.

The study of allusion has traditionally been central to the interpretation of Hellenistic poetry, in part because of the perception that the newly systematized practice of scholarship at Alexandria and other Hellenistic *mētropoleis* allowed poets a more focused, sustained, and critical understanding of Archaic text.[16]

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is of particular interest today for readers working increasingly on the interpretation of ancient poetry in its setting(s). E.g., to what extent does the actual presence of statuary and other monuments in the world of both poet and audience affect a reading of poetry replete with references to that statuary?

[13] Thomas 1999: 53.

[14] C. Cusset's *La muse dans la bibliothèque: Réécriture et intertextualité dans la poésie alexandrine* (Paris, 1999) is an application of Genette's subclasses of "transtextualité," particularly "hypertextualité," to reading Hellenistic poetry. See further Genette 1982: 7–14. Genette's *Palimpsestes* (Paris, 1982) has a particular appeal to classicists, as Genette himself makes extensive use of models drawn from ancient literature.

[15] Cf. Barchiesi 1997: 211: "Un rapporto che lega un testo a un modello coinvolge l'interpretazione di due testi, non di uno solo. Entrambe le interpretazioni sono perennemente sub iudice e si influenzano reciprocamente. Il nuovo testo rilegge il suo modello. Il modello a sua volta influenza la lettura del nuovo testo (se viene riconosciuto, spesso ha abbastanza forza da farlo)." This example of Catullus and Virgil is one that is a classic in discussing allusion in ancient literature; my own reading (see below, Chap. 2.1.2, "'*Unwillingly I left*'") differs from many in highlighting the earlier texts implicated here, esp. Sappho.

[16] These *mētropoleis* included Pergamum and also Antioch. The poet Euphorion, among others, was active at the Seleucid court.

However, this has been, for the most part, the study of allusion for the purpose of recovering either lost texts or variants of existing ones: that is, with an eye to the model rather than the new artwork. There have of course long been scholars who considered the rapports of Hellenistic poets with one another and one another's work. (G. Serrao is an important pioneer here.) But traditionally there has been less interest in considering the cultural dynamics of imitation than in the reconstruction of the texts imitated. This approach was reinforced by a long-held perception of the Hellenistic as a derivative artistic period, if not one in decline. Today much has changed. In the last twenty years the work of such scholars as M. Fantuzzi, R. Hunter, R. Pretagostini, and R. Thomas has created an interest in the art of imitation in Hellenistic poetry itself, imitation both of its poetic past and of contemporary art forms. At the same time, Hellenistic poetry, which was long seen as set apart from contemporary political culture, has come into its own as an expression of imperial politics. For example, our understanding of the selection of court poets of Archaic Samos as models is now enhanced by our recognition of Samos as a place of Ptolemaic interests overseas. Similarly, the poetry of Sappho takes on a new light as a model when we consider the need of Alexandrian male poets to celebrate powerful women, queens who were assimilated to Aphrodite and whose interests included contemporary Lesbos. Here too, in its recognition of the realities of the political world of the early Ptolemies, the study of Hellenistic poetry has benefited greatly from the parallel study of the evolution of Roman imperial poetry.

What does necessarily distinguish Hellenistic poetics, however, from its Roman relative is the contemporary large-scale evolution of philological work in Alexandria, the collection, compilation, and editing of texts in the cultural setting of these later poets, in some cases by these poets themselves. Whereas in the study of much Roman poetry the modern critic might strive for a (loosely) defined distinction between allusion and intertext,[17] the study of Hellenistic poetry must take into account concurrent scholarship on the texts of earlier poets themselves, the editing, interpreting, and later reading of one poetic culture by another. Let's consider two brief examples (both treated more extensively later in this study). Dioscorides 18 GP (*AP* 7.407) is one of several of this epigrammatist's poems celebrating lyric poets in terms of the well-known language and imagery of their poetry:[18]

ἥδιστον φιλέουσι νέοις προσανάκλιμ' ἐρώτων,
Σαπφώ, σὺν Μούσαις ἦ ῥά σε Πιερίη

[17] "Allusion" being narrowly understood as an author's conscious evocation of an earlier author as an embellishment or enhancement of his text; "intertext" being narrowly understood as a poem's interaction with other poems, a rapport of texts as received rather than produced by authors and one that is partly the result of a system of language.

[18] Translation in part inspired by Barbantani 1993: 34.

ἢ Ἑλικὼν εὔκισσος ἴσα πνείουσαν ἐκείναις
κοσμεῖ τὴν Ἐρέσῳ Μοῦσαν ἐν Αἰολίδι,
ἢ καὶ Ὑμὴν Ὑμέναιος ἔχων εὐφεγγέα πεύκην
σὺν σοὶ νυμφιδίων ἵσταθ' ὑπὲρ θαλάμων
ἢ Κινύρεω νέον ἔρνος ὀδυρομένη Ἀφροδίτη
σύνθρηνος μακάρων **ἱερὸν ἄλσος** ὁρῇς.
πάντῃ, **πότνια**, χαῖρε **θεοῖς ἴσα**· σὰς γὰρ ἀοιδάς
ἀθανάτας ἔχομεν νῦν ἔτι θυγατέρας.

Sweetest pillow of loves for enamored young men, with the Muses, Sappho, your breath their own, Pieria or ivied Helicon adorns you, you the Muse of Aeolian Eresus, whether Hymen Hymenaeus with radiant torch stands with you over bridal beds or with mourning Aphrodite you lament the young son of Cinyras and behold the holy grove of the Blessèd. In all ways I salute you, lady, as the gods' equal. For even now we preserve your songs, your immortal daughters.

Sappho fragment 2.2: ἄγνον ὄππ̣[αι]| χάριεν μὲν ἄλcoc
Sappho fragment 1.4: πότν̣ια, θῦ̣μον
Sappho fragment 31.1: φαίνεταί μοι κῆνος ἴcoc θέοιcιν

In the Greek text above I give in boldface characters several of the allusions to Sappho's poetry and beneath the translation the Sappho texts as we now have them. Note that these are all from the first book of Sappho. In lines 7 and 8, Ἀφροδίτη | σύνθρηνος is a clever juxtaposition that recalls Ἀφρόδιτα . . . cύμμαχoc, the opening and closing images of Sappho fragment 1. The first book of Sappho, which contained only poems in Sapphic stanzas, was a creation of the Alexandrian period, or perhaps of an even earlier period, but was emphatically not of Sappho's seventh-century Lesbos. This epigram has the conceit, as do other epigrams like it, of celebrating the Archaic poet herself in the first verses and in terms of her poetry in the last. The poet predominates at the beginning; her poetry, at the end. Particularly outstanding is the role of the collected first book of Sappho in the poems that Dioscorides evokes—that is, his recollection of Sappho is not only of the poet and her poetry but also of the edition of Sappho's work compiled early in the Alexandrian period or even before. The poems of Sappho that Dioscorides evokes here are all from the first book of Sappho and come to have this association with one another as a result of a book edition. Dioscorides' Sappho is a text, or collection of texts, that is now Sappho, though the poet herself had nothing to do with its compilation. In Dioscorides' epigram, Sappho is historical figure, song, text, and even material on which the text is written down.

Let me give a more controversial example, one that I will discuss in greater detail later in this study. In Sappho fragment 31, line 9, γλῶcσα ἔαγε ("my tongue is broken") is a textual crux that continues to trouble Sappho scholars

who must confront the hiatus that the sequence of the two words inevitably effects. Whatever Sappho's original may have been, the recollection of this text at Apollonius Rhodius's *Argonautica* 3.954, ἦ θαμὰ δὴ στηθέων ἐάγη κέαρ ("frequently the heart in her breast was shattered")—in a passage that carefully recreates in the now enamored Medea the effects of Sappho's torment in her poem—suggests both that Apollonius knew the Sappho text with ἔαγε and, in his avoidance of hiatus in his imitation, that he was aware of the textual problem. This is exactly the way Apollonius operates as a reader of Homer. His own poetic creation preserves rare usages and highlights textual problems. A close reading of Apollonius's rapport with Sappho shows something very similar. He clearly knows the text very well.

To what degree contemporary scholars' treatment of earlier lyric is implicated in Hellenistic poetry's recreation of this earlier poetry is a feature impossible to quantify, and indeed, to do so is probably the wrong critical path to follow. The Alexandrians knew these poets in the process of their being collected, assembled, and edited as texts at the same time as they knew them as poets in a long tradition of Greek song. And as cultural models: Anacreon and Ibycus, for example, singers from different parts of the Greek world at the court of the tyrant Polycrates of Samos, take on a new significance as precursors of court poets drawn from many parts of the Greek world to Alexandria. In the case of each poet treated in this study, we are dealing with a composite of factors that a recall of that poet in Alexandrian verse may evoke.

This work sets out to consider Hellenistic interaction with Archaic lyric, and necessarily faces certain challenges. Almost all the extant Archaic lyric poetry treated in this study, whether preserved on papyrus or from citations, is fragmentary. Indeed in this study, with the exception of Sappho's ποικιλόθρον' ἀθανατ' Ἀφρόδιτα (fr. 1) and possibly some Anacreon, it is all fragmentary. We cannot read these poems as the Alexandrians read them. Further, some preserved lines have a peculiar, even perhaps enhanced value for us simply because they are extant. In some cases extant lines of verse may have had a less or differently significant role in their settings in complete poems. The final lines of Sappho fragment 44 provide a good example here. Alternatively, a poem that is largely extant—for instance, Sappho fragment 31—and is known to have been widely imitated in extant Hellenistic poetry may not necessarily be typical of the standard situation of later imitation.[19] This poem does in fact appear to have enjoyed an unusual popularity for a long time. The fact that this is the only lyric work that appears at all in the treatise *On the Sublime* (*Περὶ ὕψους*) might suggest that this poem is an exception rather than the rule. Nor are all the Hellenistic poems considered in this study wholly extant. Apollonius's *Argonautica* and most of Theocritus are extant, but much of the Callimachus considered in the

[19] Cusset 1999: 332.

following pages—for example, the *Aetia*—is fragmentary as well. The scattered remnants of Archaic lyric, though, are the main issue. Here I am often limited to offering the suggestive possibility of an intertextual reading rather than its certainty. Some readers may find some, or much, of the result too speculative; in response I would say that we have to work with whatever material we have, that the imitations that we can attest are well worth the frustration of working through sometimes (very) tenuous traces, and that the understanding that we attain of both Hellenistic poetry and its reading of Archaic poetry is vastly the richer for the effort expended. Apollonius's *Argonautica* is an apt example. The Homeric poems that it closely reads and, for that matter, one lyric model, Pindar's fourth *Pythian* ode, are extant. We are able to make a close assessment of Apollonius's treatment of these models in the composition of the *Argonautica*, of the manner in which they inform Apollonius's poem, and of his own reading of these models. But we know something too of his other lyric models. The resonance of Sappho's extant poetry is clear. Its appreciation is of great importance to understanding Apollonius's portrayal of a female heroic figure in love. And this resonance has been the subject of a fair amount of scholarly work. The resonances of the poetry of Simonides and Ibycus in the *Argonautica* are, however, also discernible. A significant proportion of the fragments of both poets comes from the Apollonius scholia. An assessment of these fragments in themselves and in terms of their place in the Apollonius scholia allows us a closer awareness of the lyric influences on Apollonius's poem, and of how these lyric poets were read in the third century, in an activity that, as we will see, has come to be a moment not only of reception but also of preservation.

Arion's Lyre consists of five chapters and a short epilogue. The studies of individual poets all follow a similar plan: an introduction, readings of Hellenistic recreations of individual poems or poetic fragments, and a concluding appendix laying out what we know of the Alexandrian text or texts of each author. Still, there is considerable variation in the studies themselves. Sappho's reception in Alexandria is the subject of the first two chapters. In Sappho's case, partly because of the larger number of extant fragments of her poetry, and partly because of her importance in Alexandrian poetics, there is a larger amount of material to consider. Chapter 1 is devoted to Theocritean and Apollonian variations of Sappho, particularly of the famous φαίνεταί μοι κῆνος, and also to Theocritus's use of Sappho in *Idyll* 18. This is now of special interest given its echoes of the recently recovered Sappho Tithonus poem, which was published while this work was in progress. Chapter 2 centers on imitations of Sappho by Callimachus and in epigram. Here I focus on the use of Sappho in two areas that developed especially in Alexandria, encomiastic poetry celebrating Ptolemaic queens and literary epigram, a genre with which Sappho, not originally an epigrammatic author, becomes closely associated. The subject of chapter 3 is Alcaeus. Here there is less material to hand, partly because Alcaeus's political

poetry has survived in greater measure than has his erotic verse. In many cases the most a close analysis of our extant material can provide is hypothesis. Chapter 4 treats the court lyric poets Anacreon and Ibycus together. As court poets who celebrate powerful patrons, they serve as a specifically appropriate model for the Alexandrians, as does also their erotic, largely nonpolitical verse. Chapter 5 is devoted to Simonides, a poet who, like Pindar, composed in multiple poetic genres and whose poetry is often already a complex act of artistic reception, and in whom the Alexandrians found a model for some of the poetics that they were then to take up and elaborate.

This work is not meant to be an exhaustive treatment of all the extant poetry of any of these figures by poets of a later generation. Rather this is a selective study of poetic reception. It works at two levels. Alexandrian reception not only informs our own but is in many ways directly responsible for it. The Alexandrians knew these earlier poets both as poetry and as physical texts, texts that were collected, collated, edited, and preserved. Indeed it is largely through these activities that much of our extant fragmentary lyric has survived. Hence theirs was a layered reception; an allusion to Sappho's ποι˽κιλόθρο˽ν' ἀθανάτ' Ἀφρόδιτα (Sappho fr. 1) may have been to a performance of this poem, to the tradition of performance of this poem, to this poem as a written text, to this poem as the opening poem of the first book of the Alexandrian edition of Sappho, to later imitation of this poem, or to a combination of any of these factors. An Alexandrian allusion may also refer to the poem's original or current context, or both. Features that indicate such a context here might be Lesbos itself, which falls under Ptolemaic influence, or associations of young girls that celebrate Aphrodite. The Egyptian queen was associated in cult with Aphrodite, and the queen's girlhood also figured in celebrations of her. Featured too might be the Aeolic dialect and its regional expanse. At the same time such an allusion may evoke the physical displacement of the poem's text to Alexandria, to a new significance that it had in its Egyptian setting (where "deathless Aphrodite on your many-colored throne" might take on a different valence given an enthroned Ptolemaic queen seen as avatar of Aphrodite), to the poem's current popularity, or to other current recreations of the poem in contemporary song. The song is Sappho's, but its rendition belongs to Alexandria.

The texts used in this study are the editions that were standard when it was being completed. A new edition of Anacreon that has recently been published in Athens (Rozokoke 2006) has not yet replaced B. Gentili's of 1958. This use of standard editions has determined some variations in presenting the Greek. I have chosen to keep the lunate sigma [c] in all cases where the standard editions do so. This is particularly relevant for the texts of Sappho, Alcaeus, and Callimachus, as well as for the new Simonides and the new epigrams attributed to Posidippus. This is also important in the discussion of fragmentary papyrological texts, as, in some cases, exact readings of the text are either discussed or

questioned. For Sappho and Alcaeus, the text is E.-M. Voigt's edition (1971) unless otherwise noted; I have chosen to omit the abbreviation V. after each fragment. I have been able to take considerable advantage of G. Liberman's Budé edition of Alcaeus (2002). The text of Anacreon is Gentili's (1958), and the text of Ibycus is M. Davies, ed., *Poetarum Melicorum Graecorum Fragmenta*, volume 1 (Oxford, 1991). For Simonides, the situation is slightly more complex. For the lyric poems I have used D. L. Page, ed., *Poetae Melici Graecae* (Oxford, 1962); for nonlyric fragments, M. L. West, ed., *Iambi et Elegi Graeci* (2nd ed.: Oxford, 1992). The text of the new Simonides is that of Boedeker and Sider (2001). For the major Hellenistic poets, unless otherwise noted, the text of Callimachus is that of R. Pfeiffer (1949, 1953), that of Theocritus A.S.F. Gow's (1962), and that of Apollonius F. Vian's Budé edition (1996), though I have not always chosen to follow his orthography. The text of any Hellenistic epigram, unless otherwise noted, is that of Gow and Page (1965).

For the *en-face* layout of text(s) and translations on pages 19, 21–24, and 32–34, space restrictions necessitated representing some lines of Greek text in a manner other than that customarily required by their colometry. In these cases indented lines are to be understood as continuing previous lines.

The second (2008) edition of the New Sappho (*P. Köln* 429) only became available to the author after this volume had gone into production. As it happens, the new edition does not impact the treatment of this poem in this study.

CHAPTER 1

Preserving Her Aeolic Song

TRACES OF ALEXANDRIAN SAPPHO

Sappho's lyric poems (*melē*) imbue a wide canvas of Hellenistic poetry. The epigram tradition that sets her among the male figures of the lyric canon and, at the same time, sets her among the Muses finds a corresponding resonance in the varieties of her presence recalled in Alexandrian verse.[1] The new Sappho fragment is a compelling example of this influence.[2] The reader of Hellenistic poetry quickly recognizes resonances of this fragment throughout Hellenistic literature, resonances that in turn illustrate Sappho's significant role as both poetic model and cultural memory of earlier lyric song. I discuss some of the resonances of this poem at different points in this chapter, but first I would like to consider briefly the larger issue of Sappho's enduring popularity in Alexandria and, emanating from there, in later Greek and Roman literature.

While there is some uncertainty about the exact number of papyrus rolls that contained her lyric poetry (7, 8, or 9 books), we do know that Book 1 of the Alexandrian edition comprised 1,320 lines.[3] By way of comparison, the first two books of Homer's *Iliad* consist of 1,488 lines; Book 1 of Apollonius's *Argonautica*, 1,362 lines; Book 1 of Horace's *Odes*, 892 lines. There was a lot of Sappho. Given that the fraction of Sappho now remaining—only sixty-three extant fragments present complete lines—demonstrates so vivid a history of later reception, we can only, dimly, imagine what we are missing. The startling truth about Sappho is how often her extant poetry is recalled by later artists; her one complete surviving poem (fr. 1, the prayer to Aphrodite) and her almost complete surviving poem (fr. 31, φαίνεταί μοι κῆνος) both have rich and varied afterlives in multiple genres in translation, imitation, variation . . . for centuries.

Several factors may have informed the apparent favor shown to Sappho in the poetry of this later period. While no one of these is of itself a definitive reason for the strength of her resonance in later song, the aggregate picture is compelling.

1. Sappho's *melē* were organized into books by meter. This arrangement appears to have been an early one and may have been pre-Alexandrian.[4]

[1] On these poems, see chapter 2.

[2] *P.Köln* Inv. Nr. 21351 + *P.Oxy*. XV 1787 frr. 1 and 2, discussed in the following chapter.

[3] On the number of books the Alexandrian edition comprised, see the appendix to chapter 2.

[4] See Lobel (1925: xiv) on the Attic notation at the end of *P.Oxy*. 1231 (conclusion of Book 1): μελῶν α΄ ΧΗΗΗΔΔ. See further Cusset 1999: 331.

Organization by meter, whether for consistency or for variation, is an aesthetic strategy that finds notable favor in both Alexandria and Rome. Callimachus's *Iambi* and Catullus's *Carmina* are obvious examples. Unlike the case with Alcaeus, for Sappho we lack absolute evidence of an early Alexandrian edition, although its existence is very probable. Supporting evidence comes from the type of imitation we find in Theocritus's Aeolic *Idylls* (28–31), an imitation that plays in part on the metrical ordering of books, and the frequent imitation of fragment 1 (the opening poem of Sappho's first book) in third-century-BCE poetry.[5] An important question that arises here, though, is the qualitative difference between reflection of continuing editorial work on a poet over time and reflection of a final edition, or, put another way, how we define "edition."

2. Enough of Sappho survives, especially of the poems that appeared in the first book of the Alexandrian edition, to reveal a compositional *poikilia* ("variety") that would have found marked favor with Hellenistic poets. Indeed the adjective ποικίλος ("changeful") occurs frequently in extant Sappho. This is another feature of her poetry, perhaps, that invites later emulation by poets for whom this term embodies an artistic ideal.[6] While many of the poetic terms that Sappho uses—λιγύς ("clear") and related forms,[7] χαρίεις ("graceful")[8] and λεπτός ("fine")[9]—come to have enhanced compositional definition for the Alexandrians and find parallels elsewhere in Archaic poetry, their frequency in her extant verse allows us to think of her poetry as aesthetically in sympathy with that of her Alexandrian emulators and to imagine the scale of her influence upon them.

3. The author of *Περὶ ἑρμηνείας* gives Sappho as the acme of χάρις or χάριτες ("grace") in poetry.[10] Hermogenes names her as an exemplar of γλυκύτης ("sweetness").[11] Hermogenes may be of the late second century BCE; recent

[5] On the frequent imitation of first poems, see Barchiesi 2000: 171–73.

[6] Sappho fr. 39.2, ποίκιλος μάσλης; fr. 98a.10–11, μ]ιτράναν . . . ̣ποικίλαν; fr. 98b.1, ποικίλαν; fr. 44.9, ποί̣κι̣λ' ἀθύρματα; fr. 98b.6, ποικιλασκ . . . (.) [.

[7] Sappho fr. 70.11, λίγηα . [; fr.101a.2, κακχέει λιγύραν ἀοίδαν; fr. 103.7, λιγύραν [ἀοί]δαν; fr. 71.7, λίγυραι; *P.Köln* Inv. Nr. 21351 + *P.Oxy*. 1787 line 2, τὰ]ϙ φιλάοιδον λιγύραν χελύναν; fr. 30.8, ἀ λιγύφω̣[νος.

[8] Sappho fr. 68a.10, χαρίεντ'; fr. 108, ὦ χαρίεσσα κόρα; fr. 2.2, χάριεν μὲν ἄλσος; fr. 112.3, σοὶ χάριεν μὲν εἶδος; fr. 90.d 13,]καὶ χαριε̣ . [.

[9] Sappho fr. 96.17, λέπταν ποι φρένα; fr. 31.9–10, λέπτον | δ' αὔτικα χρῶι πῦρ ὐπαδεδρόμακεν; fr. 24d.6, λ]επτοφών[.

[10] Pseudo-Demetrius, *On Style* 132, τὰ μὲν οὖν εἴδη τῶν τοσάδε καὶ τοιάδε. εἰσὶν δὲ αἱ μὲν ἐν τοῖς πράγμασι χάριτες, οἷον νυμφαῖοι κῆποι, ὑμέναιοι, ἔρωτες, ὅλη ἡ Σαπφοῦς ποίησις. ("Grace of style has, therefore, a certain number of forms and characteristics. The grace may reside in the subject-matter, if it is the gardens of the Nymphs, wedding-songs, love-stories, all of Sappho's poetry." [Text and translation W. Rhys Roberts].) On Pseudo-Demetrius, *On Style* 132–33, and Hellenistic poetry (specifically Callim. fr. 1.11 and its later reception), see Hunter 2006: 123–29; Gutzwiller 1998a: 155; Clayman 1977. On the date of Pseudo-Demetrius, see now the discussion in Marini 2007: 4–16.

[11] Hermogenes, *Περὶ ἰδεῶν λογόν* 2, 4. 100–105: καθόλου τὸ περιτιθέναι τοῖς ἀπροαιρέτοις προαιρετικόν τι γλυκύτητα ποιεῖ, ὥσπερ . . . καὶ ὅταν τὴν λύραν ἐρωτᾷ ἡ Σαπφὼ καὶ ὅταν αὐτὴ

scholarship has posited that the author of *Περὶ ἑρμηνείας* is of the mid-third century, in other words a contemporary of the poets Callimachus, Theocritus, and Apollonius. In any event, his text shares some of the aesthetic principles of third-century Alexandrian poets. Sappho's presence is implicit in these later poets' striving for such qualities.

4. Sappho (like Alcaeus) treats heroic figures in lyric mode. This appropriation results in an alternative narrative perception of Homeric (or epic) material while at the same time providing a model for such varied generic treatment in later poetry and in a variety of genres (e.g., elegy).[12] Among later texts that reflect this is Ovid's *Remedia Amoris* 757–66. Here Ovid shows Sappho (and Anacreon) in a heritage of love poetry that continues through Callimachus and Philetas to the Roman elegists. Hellenistic poets, regardless of the genre or genres in which they are writing, are necessarily temporally distant from Homer. Hence an earlier poet who articulates any Homeric theme or figure functions already as a model of reception.

5. Although the line of interpretation that attributes interest in erotic psychology primarily to the Alexandrian period is now somewhat dated,[13] nonetheless it remains true that the poetry of this period shows an evolution of such interest, particularly in the portrayal of the female (and also feminized) psyche. Here Sappho clearly prefigures her later emulators. The recurrence of Sappho's voice in their lines of verse is hardly surprising. Of Sappho's poetry, primarily her erotic verse comes to be widely imitated. All three of the major extant third-century Alexandrian poets and several epigrammatists imitate Sappho fragment 31.[14]

6. In his influential study of Sappho's erotic imagery, J. Winkler draws deserved attention to her place as singer to a female audience. Sappho's is a discursive realm that is, significantly, other than a male public arena.[15] In composing a poetry that celebrated Ptolemaic queens and that detailed female experience, Callimachus and his contemporaries had in Sappho a model for reconfiguring what might be simplistically (but straightforwardly) termed "male culture." It is they who now appropriate the voice of fragment 160: τάδε νῦν ἑταίραις | ταὶς ἔμαις †τέρπνα †κάλως ἀείσω ("these pleasures I will now sing for my women companions").[16]

7. Sappho's poetry encompasses both the grand and the ordinary. In the fractured manner of lyric she frequently juxtaposes elevated and common imagery.[17]

ἀποκρίνηται, οἷον· [fr. 118], "in general conferring the ability to choose on things incapable of choice produces sweetness, as when Sappho questions her lyre and her lyre answers her."

[12] Sappho's relationship with Homer is the subject of a large scholarship from a variety of perspectives; see P. Rosenmeyer 1997; Stehle 1997; Rissman 1983.

[13] For a more nuanced articulation, see Bulloch 1995: 591–93.

[14] Cusset 1999: 332–33.

[15] Winkler 1996: 89–92.

[16] On the text, see Voigt *ad locum*.

[17] I thank M. Cuypers for discussion on this point.

The ease with which the voice of a single poem moves between the one and the other must have held great appeal for a later generation of artists for whom such opposition was a crucial compositional tool, as for example in the opening of *Argonautica* 3, where the goddesses' Olympian concourse includes details of boudoir setting and the frustrations of child rearing.

8. The extant fragments of Sappho's poetry show an awareness of both youth and age. The new fragment is an observation on physical aging; several fragments, among them 24 and 102, highlight the speaker's youth or the memory of it. A poet like Callimachus, with his repeated association of childhood and old age,[18] may again have found a model in Sappho.

9. At least a part of Lesbos falls within the Ptolemaic realm of interest in the Mediterranean at this period, in the first half of the third century BCE.[19] The poetry that reflects young women celebrating the goddess Aphrodite for her beneficence and the Egyptian celebration of the goddess Hathor finds a cultural common ground in the figure of the Ptolemaic queen, who is assimilated to both deities, and who is a figure of influence and beneficence to both cultures of her realm.

10. And then there is Helen. Sappho fragment 23, found in the first book of Sappho's poems (and so in Sapphic strophes), is one of the many fragments from this book that suggest something of what the Alexandrians were reading:

]ἔρωτος ἠλ̣π̣[
]
αν]τιον εἰcίδωc[
]'Ερμιόνα τεαυ[τα
] ξάνθαι δ' 'Ελέναι c' ἐίc[κ]ην
]κεc
]. ιc θνάταιc, τόδε δ' ἴc[θι] τὰι cᾶι
]παίcαν κέ με τὰν μερίμναν
]λαιc' ἀντιδ[. .]'[.]α̣θοιc δὲ̣
]
]τας ὄχθοιc
]ταιν
πα]νυχίc[δ]ην
] [

As in fragment 31 (also from this book), the poet's gaze and comparison to a more than mortal figure (Helen, line 5) are prominent. In addition we make out

[18] On this aspect of Callimachus's poetry, see Acosta-Hughes and Stephens 2002: 240–41; Cozzoli 2010; Fantuzzi and Hunter 2004: 73–76.

[19] Labarre 1996: 53–68; Brun 1991. The relationships between the individual city-states of Lesbos and the Egyptian king may well have varied; see Brun (1991: 109–111) on Mytilene. An inscription from Eresus (*IG* Suppl. XII, no. 122 = Labarre no. 70) attests a Ptolemaeum.

banks (line 11, of Acheron? Cf. fr. 95.12–13) and an all-night festival (line 13). The comparison to Helen finds a parallel at Theocritus 15.110–11: ἁ Βερενικεία θυγάτηρ Ἑλένᾳ εἰκυῖα | Ἀρσινόα ("the Berenicean daughter, like Helen, Arsinoe"). Helen is an important figure for the Ptolemies. Prefiguring their own associations with the divine, a goddess associated with Sparta (and so with Spartan kingship), a figure whose mythology represents an earlier Greek presence in Egypt (or version of Egypt), Helen is a central figure in Ptolemaic iconography. Hence her central role in the poetry that propagates that iconography. And Helen is, of course, central to Sappho, to her rapport with heroic poetry, and to her immediate female audience. For later male poets who celebrate Ptolemaic queens as more than mortal and make frequent reference to Helen's deification, Sappho's poetry is an obvious resource for an earlier sympathetic treatment of her. The same is true of Aphrodite, the goddess with whom the Ptolemaic queens came to be associated in cult. The Egyptian iconography of the pharaoh's wife emphasized her desirability and fertility; Greek poets in this mixed cultural milieu had to find a language in which they could similarly portray the Ptolemaic queen. Here Homer, in both instances, would not work. But Sappho would, and did.

Sappho as tenth Muse is a trope of Hellenistic epigram.[20] Arsinoe II may have been numbered among the Muses in the lost lines that follow Callimachus fragment 1 Pf. according to a scholion (*P.Lit.Lond.* 181 col. II, to line 41).[21] Callimachus fragment 110, *The Lock of Berenice*, a poem that represents Arsinoe as Aphrodite, has strong resonances of Sappho;[22] the new epigrams attributed to Posidippus, a collection that includes several Ptolemaic royal women, also figures several recollections of Sappho. That Sappho and Arsinoe share the designation of tenth Muse may well represent a tighter and more complex association of these two women than is at first apparent.

In this and the following chapter I attempt a comparative reading of Sappho as several different poets and texts recall her. I begin with a variety of Theocritean interpretations of Sappho, each an example of close reading and evocative allusion, and together a powerful example of poetic reception.

1.1. Theocritean Variations of Sappho

Theocritus's hexameter verses encompass many earlier poetic genres and poetic voices. Sappho's is prominent among these, and in several ways. In Theocritus's poetry she provides an example of artistic confluence. Hers is a female

[20] See below, chapter 2.
[21] See Massimilla *ad loc.*; D'Alessio 1996: 379 n. 29.
[22] See below, chapter 2.

Aeolic voice of the Greek East that emerges in renewed form in the Doric verses of a poet of the Greek West, in a variety of settings that allow us to identify the influence "Sappho," whether the content of her poetry, its form, or the occasion of its singing. In considering Sappho's presence in Theocritus, I provide a close reading of two texts that recall Sappho. These are by no means the sole recollections of Sappho in Theocritus.[23] The first is Simaitha's monologue to Selene in *Idyll* 2. Here, in the context of urban mime, a singer of erotic lament appropriates well-known poems of an earlier female voice for her own situation by adapting them to her own voice and psychology. The second is *Idyll* 18, the wedding song of Helen and Menelaus. Here Theocritus incorporates a set piece of choral lyric into hexameter. It is a song that inevitably calls to mind an earlier heroic wedding from Sappho's lyric, that of Hector and Andromache (fr. 44). This idyll also shows a high instance of recollections of Sappho's verse.

1.1.1. Simaitha's Monody as a Reading of Sappho

Several studies have considered Theocritus's second *Idyll* for its rapport with Sappho, in particular Sappho fragment 1. With good reason. Both are incantations; both develop personal memory in erotic narrative; both exhibit a compelling first-person voice. Indeed the solo singer's farewell to her sympathetic divinity at the *Idyll*'s conclusion (line 165, Σελαναία λιπαρόθρονε) is an echo of Sappho's first line (ποικιλόθρον') that signals the association of the two poems with an emphatic flourish. I will touch on this rapport at the conclusion of this section. Here I will explore in greater detail the poetic relationship with Sappho fragment 31 (φαίνεταί μοι κῆνος) that occurs in this same poem of Theocritus. This correspondence is particularly emphatic, unsurprisingly, during Simaitha's narrative of her own experience of ἐρωτικὴ νόσος ("love disease": lines 82–92 and 106–10), a narrative that seems to be her own reading of Sappho's φαίνεταί μοι κῆνος developed in two stages. The divided two-part narrative reception proceeds further at two levels, that of the poem's narrator and that of the poet. (Herein lies the origin of the long critical debate on how to read the poem's tone.) The very popularity of Sappho's poem itself allows for this two-level intertextual play. The poem's narrator, Simaitha, knows Sappho's poem as part of the repertory of popular love poetry; hence the sympathy, and also the humor, of her adaptation. The poem's author, Theocritus, reconfigures Sappho's lyric

[23] Other poems that show substantial influence of Sappho are *Idylls* 10, 11 and 15. *Idylls* 28–31, Theocritus's reading of Aeolic, combines a number of features of Sappho and Alcaeus together tellingly as a reading of the two Archaic voices as two parts of a whole. In this regard Theocritus prefigures Horace, whose adaptation of the "Aeolium Carmen" (3.30) to Latin verse includes the two poets individually and as one artistic heritage. See further below, chapter 3.

poem in the course of his hexameter verses, weaving in one word here, one image there, to effect a song at once Sappho's and his own.

So detailed and self-conscious a reading of Sappho's poem should not surprise us. Φαίνεταί μοι κῆνος was clearly a well-known and widely appreciated poem; Catullus's translation (Catull. 51), Horace's adaptation of lines 3–5 at *Odes* 1.22.23–24 ("dulce ridentem Lalagen amabo, dulce loquentem"), Lucretius's imitation at *De Rerum Natura* 3.152–58, and the detailed assessment of the anonymous author of *Περὶ ὕψους* all attest to this.[24] In evoking this poem here, as when he recalls Simonides' Plataea elegy (fr. 1–22 W²) in *Idyll* 17, Theocritus is hardly evoking an obscure work—and each is an entirely appropriate model for his later creation. There is also a compositional logic. Simaitha styles herself as the singer of her own lament. Line 65, ἐκ τίνος ἄρξωμαι; ("From where shall I begin?") is a metapoetic key here. While at one level appropriate to the linear structure of Simaitha's narrative, ἄρξωμαι also places Simaitha in the position of the singer of (for example) a hexameter hymn. Τίνος may then be deliberately ambiguous: from whom? (i.e., "Who is the subject of my song?") or from what? (i.e., "From what narrative point?"), the former perhaps suggested by the following τίς in the same line. Simaitha further sings to that especially Sapphic image, the moon,[25] and she turns to a very celebrated aria in the repertoire of lyric monologues on jealous love as her model—Sappho's φαίνεταί μοι κῆνος.

Several recent studies of these two poems, Sappho fragment 31 and Theocritus, *Idyll* 2, have illuminated many of the correspondences between them.[26] The treatment that follows here attempts to carry this earlier work one step further, considering whether both *Idyll* 2 itself and, in particular, Simaitha's erotic lament are intended very specifically as a reading, albeit in some ways exaggerated, of Sappho's φαίνεταί μοι κῆνος, and what such a reading may tell of Sappho's later reception.

Viewing the two monodies together most effectively reveals their correspondences. Below I give first the text and translation of both Sappho fragment 31 and Theocritus 2.76–110, and then I follow these with an en-face presentation of the two Greek texts, which immediately suggests far more than mere thematic congruence. Sappho's poem is a monodic song of which four complete

[24] While the date of the last work is some centuries later than the composition of *Idyll* 2, its evaluation of Sappho fr. 31 is a good parallel to the early Hellenistic reception of this poem. Sappho fr. 31 is the only lyric poem that appears in the text. This is itself a comment on the poem's significance. Cf. Bonanno 1990: 149–50; Privitera 1969: 43–44.

[25] On the moon as a resonance of Sappho in Apollonius, see below in this chapter; Fantuzzi 2007.

[26] Cusset 1999: 336–39; Bonanno 1990; Di Benedetto 1984 passim; Pretagostini 1984; see also Privitera 1969. Bonanno's synoptic treatment of Sappho fr. 31, Theocr. 2.82–92, 106–10, and Ap. Rh. 3.284–98 and 962–65, is enlightening. I have chosen here to keep the two Alexandrian adaptations distinct, but do refer in my treatment of each to the other. I also briefly discuss them together further below in this chapter.

stanzas are preserved; the poem continued, its full final length now unknown.[27] The text I give below of Sappho fragment 31 is Voigt's, though I adopt a few emendations of other scholars. These are important in themselves and also have some bearing on Theocritus's adaptation. I discuss these emendations in the commentary notes immediately following the Greek quotations.

Sappho Fragment 31	*Translation*	
φαίνεταί μοι κῆνος ἴσος θέοισιν	That man seems to me equal to gods	
ἔμμεν' ὤνηρ, ὄττις ἐνάντιός τοι	whoever sits across from you	
ἰσδάνει καὶ πλάσιον ἆδυ φωνεί-	and nearby attends you	
σας ὐπακούει	sweetly speaking	4
καὶ γελαίσας ἰμέροεν, τό μ' ἦ μὰν	and desirously laughing, which makes	
καρδίαν ἐν στήθεσιν ἐπτόαισεν·	the heart in my breast flutter.	
ὠς γὰρ ‹ἔς› σ' ἴδω βρόχε' ὤς με φώνη-	For when I look upon you then no longer	
σ' οὐδὲν ἔτ' εἴκει,	can I speak,	8
ἀλλὰ †καμ† μὲν γλῶσσα †ἔαγε†, λέπτον	but my tongue is broken, a fine	
δ' αὔτικα χρῶι πῦρ ὐπαδεδρόμακεν	fire straightway runs below my skin,	
ὀππάτεσσι δ' οὐδὲν ὄρημμ', ἐπιρρόμ-	in my eyes there is no sight, my ears	
βεισι δ' ἄκουαι,	hum,	12
ἀ δέ μ' ἴδρως κακχέεται, τρόμος δὲ	the sweat pours down me, and trembling	
παῖσαν ἄγρει, χλωροτ̣έρα δὲ π̣οίας	seizes me all through, I am more pale	
ἔμμι, τεθ̣νάκην δ' ὀ̣λίγω ʾπιδε̣ύης	than grass, and I seem to myself to be little	
φα̣ίνομ' ἔμ' αὔτ̣[αι	short of dying	16
ἀλλὰ πὰν τόλματον, ἐπεὶ †καὶ πένητα†	but all must be borne, for even the poor man	

COMMENTARY NOTES TO SAPPHO FRAGMENT 31

1. At line 7, while I have retained Voigt's text, note, as Most (1996: 30–32) observes, that ‹ἔς› σ' ἴδω is Edmonds's 1922 conjectured reading for the text of *Parisinus graecus* 2036 (Long. 10), ὠς γὰρ σΐδω, which is metrically defective. The seemingly innocuous introduction of the second-person pronoun σε transforms the object of attention from one subtly abstract (line 5, τό) to one definitely personal. Compare fragment 23.3: αν]τιον εἰσίδως[.

[27] M. West 1970: 313; De Martino and Vox 1996: 1069–71; Hutchinson 2001: 168, 176.

2. At line 9, Privitera (1969: 38; followed by Pretagostini 1984: 106) reads ἀλλὰ κὰμ μὲν γλῶσσα γ' ἔαγε, λέπτον δ', thereby avoiding the problem of hiatus with the insertion of γ'. Privitera here follows Plutarch (*De prof. virt.* 81D) in reading κὰμ (= κατὰ) at the beginning of this line (so tmesis for κατάγνυμι); he further notes (ibid. 41) that Lucretius 3.155 "infringi linguam" suggests that this was the text of Sappho known in the first century BCE.[28] The γ' avoids the problem of the hiatus that otherwise results in γλῶσσα ἔαγε, but the function of the conjectured γε is uncertain, and the resulting tripled gamma sound is very emphatic. Another reason to hesitate in adopting this text is that Apollonius Rhodius 3.954, ἦ θαμὰ δὴ στηθέων ἐάγη κέαρ, which appears to be a close imitation of this image in Sappho, is playing on the simple rather than the compound verb. Further, Theocritus, *Idyll* 2.110, ἐπάγην, seems, in sound though not in sense, to recall ἔαγε.[29]

3. At lines 11–12 I have retained the manuscript's ἐπιρρόμ- | βειcι δ' ἄκουαι as do LP and Page 1955; Voigt prints Bergk's ἐπιβρόμειcι. See further Di Benedetto 1985: 145 note 2. Apollonius Rhodius 4.908, ἐπιβρομέωνται ἀκουαί, to which Bergk referred, may well be Apollonius's own adaptation of Sappho's text rather than a direct citation of Sappho.

4. Line 13: I integrate Di Benedetto's (1985) suggested ἀ δέ μ' ἴδρωc κακχέεται. Privitera 1969: 37, 41–42 (followed by Pretagostini 1984: see his discussion, p. 110), reads ἐκ δέ μ' ἴδρως ψῦχρος ἔχει, τρόμος δὲ. Gallavotti (1948: 80) suggested ἐκ δέ μ' ἴδρως for codex P's εκαδε μ' ἰδρῶς. Codex P of Pseudo-Longinus preserves ψῦχρος, which Spengel (1853: 258) deleted, assuming it to be a gloss. Page (1955: 19, 25) retains ψῦχρος and suggests the text κὰδ δέ μ' ἴδρως ψῦχρος ἔχει. Bonnano (1990: 152), comparing this text with Hippocrates *Περὶ πάθων* 49, ἱδρώς τε πολὺς καταχεῖται . . . καταχεῖται δέ, argues for retaining κακχέεται in Sappho's text (and so not including ψῦχρος). There is further the similarity in both syllables and sound of κακχέεται and Theocritus 2.107, κοχύδεσκεν.

One hesitation in restoring ψῦχρος to the text derives from the very imitation in *Idyll* 2.106 ἐψύχθην that Privitera (1969: 41) accepts as one of the proofs that Sappho originally wrote ἴδρως ψῦχρος. Simaitha's reading of this poem amplifies, elaborates, exaggerates, but (most important) adapts. In lines 106–7 there are effectively three forms of water (rather than Sappho's one). Sappho's trembling becomes Simaitha's being struck motionless, Sappho's self-perceived cessation from life evolves into Simaitha's comparison to a lifeless object (lines 89–90, αὐτὰ δὲ λοιπά | ὀστί' ἔτ' ἦς καὶ δέρμα). Simaitha's text does not obviate the word ψῦχρος being in the original, but I am hesitant to accept it as sure proof. This would be a very close imitation for Theocritus.[30] The author of *Περὶ*

[28] Cf. West 1970: 311.

[29] Also observed by Di Benedetto 1985: 154 n. 27.

[30] Cf. M. West 1970: 312.

ὕψους may be confusing source and imitation. Both passages, Sappho fragment 31 and Theocritus, *Idyll* 2.106–10, were famous.[31]

Theocritus, Idyll 2.76–110	*Translation*
ἤδη δ' εὖσα μέσαν κατ' ἀμαξιτόν, ᾗ τὰ Λύκωνος,	Already midway along the road, near Lycon's
εἶδον Δέλφιν ὁμοῦ τε καὶ Εὐδάμιππον ἰόντας·	I saw Delphis coming with Eudamippus,
τοῖς δ' ἦς ξανθοτέρα μὲν ἑλιχρύσοιο γενειάς	their chins more gold then helichryse,
στήθεα δὲ στίλβοντα πολὺ πλέον ἢ τύ, Σελάνα,	their chests gleamed far more than you,
ὡς ἀπὸ γυμνασίοιο καλὸν πόνον ἄρτι λιπόντων.	Selene, as they had just left the gym's noble toil.
φράζεό μευ τὸν ἔρωθ' ὅθεν ἵκετο, πότνα Σελάνα.	Consider whence came my love, Lady Selene.
χὠς ἴδον ὡς ἐμάνην, ὥς μοι πυρὶ θυμὸς ἰάφθη	When I saw him I went mad, how my soul was burned
δειλαίας, τὸ δὲ κάλλος ἐτάκετο. οὐκέτι πομπᾶς	by fire, poor me. My beauty melted away. No more
τήνας ἐφρασάμην, οὐδ' ὡς πάλιν οἴκαδ' ἀπῆνθον	of that parade had I any thought, nor know I how
ἔγνων, ἀλλά μέ τις καπυρὰ νόσος ἐξεσάλαξεν	I came home, but a raging illness assailed me,
κείμαν δ' ἐν κλιντῆρι δέκ' ἄματα καὶ δέκα νύκτας.	and I lay on my couch ten days and ten nights.
φράζεό μευ τὸν ἔρωθ' ὅθεν ἵκετο, πότνα Σελάνα.	Consider whence came my love, Lady Selene.
καί μευ χρὼς μὲν ὁμοῖος ἐγίνετο πολλάκι θάψῳ,	And my skin was often yellow as pistachio wood.
ἔρρευν δ' ἐκ κεφαλᾶς πᾶσαι τρίχες, αὐτὰ δὲ λοιπά	All the hairs flowed from my head, and nothing
ὀστί' ἔτ' ἦς καὶ δέρμα. καὶ ἐς τίνος οὐκ ἐπέρασα	was left of me but bones and skin. To whom did I
ἢ ποίας ἔλιπον γραίας δόμον ἄτις ἐπᾷδεν;	not go? What enchantress did I not seek out?

[31] I owe this observation to discussion with M. Cuypers. E.g., Nic. *Ther*. 255, ψυχρότερος νιφετοῖο βολῆς περιχεύεται ἱδρώς, occasionally given in support of reading ψῦχρος in Sappho, seems rather to be imitating Theocritus. Possibly in favor, however, of reading ψῦχρος here are Sappho's own uses of the adjective at frr. 2.5 and 42.1, especially the metaphorical use in the latter.

ἀλλ᾽ ἦς οὐδὲν ἐλαφρόν, ὁ δὲ χρόνος ἄνυτο φεύγων.

This was no light thing; time, in flight, ended.

φράζεό μευ τὸν ἔρωθ᾽ ὅθεν ἵκετο, πότνα Σελάνα.

Consider whence came my love, Lady Selene.

χοὔτω τᾷ δώλᾳ τὸν ἀλαθέα μῦθον ἔλεξα·

So I spoke the truth to my slave girl:

‘εἰ δ᾽ ἄγε, Θεστυλί, μοι χαλεπᾶς νόσω εὑρέ τι μᾶχος.
πᾶσαν ἔχει με τάλαιναν ὁ Μύνδιος· ἀλλὰ μολοῖσα
τήρησον ποτὶ τὰν Τιμαγήτοιο παλαίστραν·
τηνεὶ γὰρ φοιτᾷ, τηνεὶ δέ οἱ ἁδὺ καθῆσθαι.

“Thestylis, find some cure for my harsh illness.
The Myndian has me all. But go and watch
at Timagetus’s wrestling school. For there
he often goes, there ’tis sweet for him to tarry.

φράζεό μευ τὸν ἔρωθ᾽ ὅθεν ἵκετο, πότνα Σελάνα.

Consider whence came my love, Lady Selene.

κἠπεί κά νιν ἐόντα μάθῃς μόνον, ἄσυχα νεῦσον,
κεἴφ᾽ ὅτι “Σιμαίθα τυ καλεῖ,” καὶ ὑφαγέο τεῖδε᾽.
ὣς ἐφάμαν· ἃ δ᾽ ἦνθε καὶ ἄγαγε τὸν λιπαρόχρων
εἰς ἐμὰ δώματα Δέλφιν· ἐγὼ δέ νιν ὡς ἐνόησα
ἄρτι θύρας ὑπὲρ οὐδὸν ἀμειβόμενον ποδὶ κούφῳ—

And when you perceive him alone, signal quietly,
say ‘Simaitha calls you,’ and lead him here.”
So said I. She came, led him of shining skin,
Delphis, to my house. And when I perceived him
as he crossed the threshold with his nimble foot—

φράζεό μευ τὸν ἔρωθ᾽ ὅθεν ἵκετο, πότνα Σελάνα—

Consider whence came my love, Lady Selene—

πᾶσα μὲν ἐψύχθην χιόνος πλέον, ἐκ δὲ μετώπω
ἱδρώς μευ κοχύδεσκεν ἴσον νοτίαισιν ἐέρσαις,
οὐδέ τι φωνῆσαι δυνάμαν, οὐδ᾽ ὅσσον ἐν ὕπνῳ
κνυζεῦνται φωνεῦντα φίλαν ποτὶ ματέρα τέκνα·
ἀλλ᾽ ἐπάγην δαγῦδι καλὸν χρόα πάντοθεν ἴσα.

All through I turned colder than snow. From my
forehead sweat flowed down like wet dew,
nor could I make any sound, not so much as in sleep
a child makes sounds whimpering to its dear mother;
but was numbed as a doll in all my lovely body.

Sappho Fragment 31

φαίνεταί μοι κῆνος ἴσος θέοισιν
ἔμμεν' ὤνηρ, ὄττις ἐνάντιός τοι
ἰσδάνει καὶ πλάσιον ἆδυ φωνεί-
σας ὑπακούει 4

καὶ γελαίσας ἰμέροεν, τό μ' ἦ μὰν
καρδίαν ἐν στήθεσιν ἐπτόαισεν·
ὠς γὰρ ‹ἔς› σ' ἴδω βρόχε' ὤς με φώνη-
σ' οὐδὲν ἔτ' εἴκει, 8
ἀλλὰ †καμ† μὲν γλῶσσα †ἔαγε†, λέπτον
δ' αὔτικα χρῶι πῦρ ὐπαδεδρόμακεν
ὀππάτεσσι δ' οὐδὲν ὄρημμ', ἐπιρρόμ
βεισι δ' ἄκουαι, 12

ἀ δέ μ' ἴδρως κακχέεται, τρόμος δὲ
παῖσαν ἄγρει, χλωροτ˛έρα δὲ
π˛οίας
ἔμμι, τεθ˛νάκην δ' ὀ˛λίγω
'πιδε˛ύης†
φα˛ίνομ' ἔμ' αὔτ[αι 16

ἀλλὰ πὰν τόλματον, ἐπεὶ †καὶ πένητα

Theocritus, Idyll 2.76–92, 106–10

ἤδη δ' εὖσα μέσαν κατ' ἀμαξιτόν, ᾗ τὰ Λύκωνος,
εἶδον Δέλφιν ὁμοῦ τε καὶ Εὐδάμιππον ἰόντας·
τοῖς δ' ἦς ξανθοτέρα μὲν ἐλιχρύσοιο γενειάς
στήθεα δὲ στίλβοντα πολὺ πλέον ἢ τύ, Σελάνα,
ὡς ἀπὸ γυμνασίοιο καλὸν πόνον ἄρτι λιπόντων. 80

φράζεό μευ τὸν ἔρωθ' ὅθεν ἵκετο, πότνα Σελάνα.
χὡς ἴδον ὣς ἐμάνην, ὥς μοι πυρὶ θυμὸς ἰάφθη
δειλαίας, τὸ δὲ κάλλος ἐτάκετο. οὐκέτι πομπᾶς
τήνας ἐφρασάμην, οὐδ' ὡς πάλιν οἴκαδ' ἀπῆνθον
ἔγνων, ἀλλά μέ τις καπυρὰ νόσος ἐξεσάλαξεν 85
κείμαν δ' ἐν κλιντῆρι δέκ' ἄματα καὶ δέκα νύκτας.

φράζεό μευ τὸν ἔρωθ' ὅθεν ἵκετο, πότνα Σελάνα

καί μευ χρὼς μὲν ὁμοῖος ἐγίνετο πολλάκι θάψῳ,
ἔρρευν δ' ἐκ κεφαλᾶς πᾶσαι τρίχες, αὐτὰ δὲ λοιπά
ὀστί' ἔτ' ἦς καὶ δέρμα. καὶ ἐς τίνος οὐκ ἐπέρασα 90
ἢ ποίας ἔλιπον γραίας δόμον ἄτις ἐπᾶδεν;
ἀλλ' ἦς οὐδὲν ἐλαφρόν, ὁ δὲ χρόνος ἄνυτο φεύγων.

. . . . . .

πᾶσα μὲν ἐψύχθην χιόνος πλέον, ἐκ δὲ μετώπω

ἱδρώς μευ κοχύδεσκεν ἴσον νοτίαισιν
ἐέρσαις,
οὐδέ τι φωνῆσαι δυνάμαν, οὐδ' ὅσσον ἐν
ὕπνῳ
κνυζεῦνται φωνεῦντα φίλαν ποτὶ ματέρα
τέκνα·
ἀλλ' ἐπάγην δαγῦδι καλὸν χρόα
πάντοθεν ἴσα. 110

Even given the expectations of a long tradition of ἐρωτικὴ νόσος portrayals in Greek poetry, a comparison of Simaitha's narrative of her physical and psychic decline against Sappho's signals close reading and adaptation. Sappho's poem is remarkable for its detailed integration of medical language and imagery into the context of erotic lyric.[32] Theocritus reflects and enhances this integration in Simaitha's recounting not only of her physiological experience but also of its duration. Sappho's appropriation of medical language into a portrayal of erotic suffering has become, for Simaitha, actual physical illness—metaphor has become reality.[33] Sappho's experience might be defined as aoristic: these are the symptoms that come over the singer on gazing upon the object of her affection in another's company, however often this happens. (The use of the initial ὡς and the aorist subjunctive allows for multiple disparate viewings.)[34] Her symptoms are largely perceived internally; apparent death is the translation of her emotional crisis into the psychosomatic. Simaitha's experience is rather of the duration of illness (so line 81 κείμαν), with its attendant external physical degeneration and the threat of subsequent actual death.

Sappho fragment 31 is in Sapphic stanzas. The adonean functions as a mark both of separation and of repetition, whether the sense of one stanza continues into another (stanzas 1 and 2, and 2 and 3) or not (stanzas 3 and 4).[35] The refrain of Simaitha's lament effectively translates Sappho's adonean into Theocritus's poem (and here Simaitha's song) and recreates something of the shape of Sappho's poem.[36] For the most part, the individual stanzas (for lack of a better term) are distinct, but lines 104–6 recall the flow of thought from one stanza into another in Sappho's poem. Importantly here Theocritus begins his reconfiguration of his model a second time. The refrain of *Idyll* 2 is appropriate both to the poem's theme—the poem imitates an incantation—and in terms of its relation to Sappho. Sappho fragments 1 and 31 are both in Sapphic stanzas (the meter of the first book of the Alexandrian edition); both are models for *Idyll* 2.

[32] Di Benedetto 1985: 145–51; Bonanno 1990: 151–54; Lanata 1966: 77–78.

[33] See Di Benedetto 1985: 156.

[34] See Timpanaro 1978. This is true whether we read ‹ἔς› c' ἴδω or Hermann's conjectured εἰςίδω, on which see Most: 1996: 30–31.

[35] This is equally true when the Sapphic is formulated as a three-line stanza. (Cf. West 1970: 307–8.)

[36] The same holds true for the recall of Sappho fr. 1 in the earlier part of *Idyll* 2.

In this sense, the refrain marks Theocritus's (and Simaitha's) reading of Sappho's poems together, two of the highlights of Sappho Book 1.

Sappho's poem tells of the singer's torment on perceiving the object of her desire, here made (it appears) unattainable. Hers is, as many critics have noted, the erotic gaze and the narrative of physiological reaction.[37] The erotic gaze of *Idyll* 2 belongs to Simaitha, whereas Delphis, at least in the context of Simaitha's narrative, is the object of her gaze and is further presented as an object of beauty.[38] He also is not alone but is in the company of his gymnasium friend Eudamippus. They exist in a male setting, from which Simaitha is excluded except as an external observer. She is rather the viewer looking in. The comparison of the young men's glistening chests to the moon is both apt for the song's addressee, Selene, and may be seen as serving as the introit to an evocation of Sappho, for whom the moon is a vivid object of erotic comparison.[39] By equating the young men to a god (Selene), the same comparison has the additional effect of reconfiguring the opening line of Sappho's poem—Delphis appears to Simaitha like a god (Selene): that is, ἴσος θέοισιν.

There is no named addressee in Sappho fragment 31, although the second-person pronouns suggest one internal to the poem and distinct from the song's original audience.[40] There are three figures: the singer, the woman who is the object of the singer's attention, and the man who is the object of the singer's envy.[41] The singer is the observer, not only of the scene initially before her but also of her own physiological experience. Her recognition (lines 15–16, τεθ˛νάκην δ' ὀ˛λίγω 'πιδε˛ύης† | φα˛ίνομ' ἔμ' αὔτ̣[αι, "and I seem to myself to be little short of dying") is at once an indication of emotion and a diagnosis.[42] Theocritus has reconfigured these same structures in Simaitha's monody. Here there is an addressee, Selene, whose role is heightened especially by the apostrophes at lines 79 and 142, which mark the opening and closing of the erotic

[37] See Stehle 1996: 219–20; Williamson 1996: 257–59.

[38] Delphis later suggests (lines 114–28) that his would have been a more active role. But he never acknowledges having seen her; all his points of reference—Philinus, Heracles, the *kōmos*, and later the reported symposium (lines 151–52)—are exclusively male. This heightens the sense of Simaitha's isolation.

[39] Burton (1995: 44–45, 83) suggests that Theocritus through Simaitha's objectification of Delphis is in part stressing a continuum (rather than difference) of male and female *erōs*. Sappho becomes an especially interesting model here, as her homoerotic gaze is already differently gendered. Burton also (44) sees the comparison of the two young men to the moon goddess as placing them in the "feminized position" of object of erotic attention. Again Sappho's use of moon imagery is suggestive. Plutarch, *Amator*. 4 (iv 341 Hubert), attributes to Anacreon the phrase πόθῳ στίλβων (Anacreon fr. 125 G = 444 *PMG*), "glistening with desire," of the love of girls. (The love of boys is, by contrast, at this point in the dialogue γνήσιος.) It would be a nice twist indeed if Simaetha, a girl looking at boys coming from the gym, still were to characterize them with a term drawn from partheneia.

[40] Lines 2, τοι, and 7, σε; but cf. commentary note 1.

[41] This figure has more of a presence, beginning with the initial "ille," in Catull. 51 than in Sappho fr. 31. See Ferrari 1938: 62; Quinn 1973: 242; Edwards 1989.

[42] Di Benedetto 1985: 150–51.

narrative. The young man is the figure viewed (and desired), but apart from the incidental figures (Eudamippus, the maid Thestylis) there remains something of the triadic structure.[43] Simaitha is the observer, first of the parade (where, as elsewhere in the poem, she has an eye for incidental detail), then of the young men, and last of the progress of her own illness. Here the summary line 93, ἀλλ᾽ ἦς οὐδὲν ἐλαφρόν, ὁ δὲ χρόνος ἄνυτο φεύγων ("this was no light thing, and time in flight ended"), serves as the note of both empathy and diagnosis.

Sappho's symptoms are antithetically paired.[44] Antithesis plays a different role in Simaitha's song. Theocritus here reconfigures Sappho's poem not once but twice, a compositional move that necessarily invites contrast and comparison, and in turn highlights the two levels of intertextual reading taking place here, those of the poem's composer, Theocritus, and of its principal narrator, Simaitha.[45] As the comparison of Delphis to Selene marks the beginning of one reconfiguration of Sappho fragment 31, the echo of this comparison at line 102, λιπαρόχρων, announces the second. The symptoms that the two singers, Sappho and Simaitha, evoke are essentially the same: inability to speak, faintheartedness, experience of heat (and cold), sweating and tremors, physical change, sensation or fear of approaching death.[46] Throughout, Theocritus marks a creative debt and creative variation.

Lines 82–86 of Theocritus's poem begin the allusive reworking of Sappho's poem with the parallel sequence of violent emotion after the sighting of the object of desire and the viewer's immediate reaction. Line 82, χὡς ἴδον ὣς ἐμάνην, recalls an identical moment that then leads to the onset of the speaker's symptoms at Sappho fragment 31.7, ὡς γὰρ ‹ἔς› σ᾽ ἴδω βρόχε᾽ ὤς με. . . .[47] The initial allusion in Sappho's text and again in Theocritus is to *Iliad* 14.293–94 (Hera's seduction of Zeus: ἴδε δὲ νεφεληγερέτα Ζευς. | ὡς δ᾽ ἴδεν, ὥς μιν ἔρως πυκινὰς φρένας ἀμφεκάλυψεν, "and cloud-gathering Zeus saw her, and when he saw her, then desire enshrouded his thick wits"), yet as Simaitha's narrative continues, it becomes clear that it is through Sappho that she is recalling Homer, with the nice touch that Simaitha's, like Sappho's, is the female gaze.[48] Sappho's poem is already a composition of Homeric passages into lyric. Theocritus, in turn, takes this lyric poem and brings it back into hexameter verse. Line 65, ἐκ τίνος ἄρξωμαι, has a dual role here; the phrase is typical of hexameter poetry and contextually appropriate to Simaitha's monody.

[43] At one level Selene has the role of Aphrodite in Sappho fr. 1: she is the object of prayer and is called upon to aid the singer. At another, she is the addressee of Simaitha's monologue. The recall of Sappho's poem here is complex.

[44] See esp. Privitera 1969: 60–68; Bonanno 1990: 150–51.

[45] Apollonius does the same at *Arg.* 3.284–98 and 962–65; see further below in this chapter.

[46] See Ferrari 2007: 160.

[47] See Pretagostini's detailed discussion of this parallel (1984: 108–9); see also Ferrari 2007: 162–63.

[48] See Timpanaro 1978: 235–36.

On this reading, line 83 (τὸ δὲ κάλλος ἐτάκετο, "my beauty melted away") can be taken both as Simaitha's exaggerated rendition of Sappho and as Theocritus's metapoetic gesture to Sappho's poem. In his close reading of this passage, S. Timpanaro notes that Theocritus really uses Sappho's fragment 31 in *Idyll* 2 not twice but, with the introduction of the theme of Sappho's poem in the phrase τὸ δὲ κάλλος ἐτάκετο, three times.[49] There may also be a Homeric passage implicated here, namely *Odyssey* 19.204–8. Theocritus may recall *Odyssey* 19.205, ὡς δὲ χιὼν κατατήκετο, in a divided allusion, in ἐτάκετο here at 83 and in χιόνος at 106, a further bond linking the two symptomatic passages as well. And, of course, Simaitha in the second passage beholds her wandering love now in her home. The fevered reaction of Sappho (χρῶι πῦρ ὑπαδεδρόμακεν, "fire runs below my skin") recurs in lines 82–83, ὥς μοι πυρὶ θυμὸς ἰάφθη | δειλαίας, and again at line 85, ἀλλά μέ τις καπυρὰ νόσος ἐξεσάλαξεν. The former reads Sappho's image almost metaphorically; the latter attempts to define it, almost ironically, in terms of medical literature.[50] The duplication pervades Simaitha's reading of Sappho and also contributes to the sardonic character of the passage (as in her twice beholding Delphis).

Simaitha's over-the-top rendition of Sappho continues at lines 88–92 with the surprising καί μευ χρὼς ὁμοῖος ἐγίνετο πολλάκι θάψῳ ("and my skin was often yellow like pistachio wood"). Simaitha's is a clunky rendition of Sappho's χλωροτ⌊έρα δὲ π⌋οίας | ἔμμι ("I am more pale than grass").[51] Her speaking of pistachio wood here localizes the image, but it also trivializes the comparison. The pedantic specificity takes away from the pathos. While Sappho's erotic language still has a certain technical quality, here the image is reduced to a botanical detail.[52] The scholiast claims the plant is from Sicily;[53] he also gives Sappho as a source on this (fr. 210). It would be an effective touch if Theocritus, in varying Sappho, is at the same time alluding to Sappho in his use of θάψος = χλωρός. There was a tradition that Sappho was exiled in Sicily (*Marm. Par.* Ep. 36 p. 12 Jac. = Sappho fr. 251), and the city Thapsus, near Syracuse, may also be recalled here in a complex flash of local color.[54] Put another way, Sappho in Sicily is recalled in a reading of Sappho in a Sicilian poet's Doric verse. One wonders, too, whether there might not be a homonymic play on θάπτω, "to bury"; Simaitha is picturing herself as dead, thus literally rendering lines 15–16 of Sappho's poem: τεθ⌊νάκην δ' ὀ⌋λίγω 'πιδε⌊ύης† | φα⌋ίνομ' ἔμ' αὔτ[αι ("I seem to myself to be little short of dying").

When he appears at her threshold (lines 102–4) Simaitha encounters Delphis for a second time. It is possible that on this occasion she first hears rather than

[49] Timpanaro ibid. 238.

[50] Cf. Callimachus's use of medical detail in his description of Cydippe's illness in fr. 75.

[51] Cf. Timpanaro 1978: 237; Bonanno 1990: 162 n. 46.

[52] On this aspect of Sappho's language, see Timpanaro 1978: 237.

[53] Wendel 1914: 286.

[54] I owe this suggestion to conversation with L. Battezzato. See further Ferrari 2007: 28–29.

sees him, as her initial observation is of his gait (lines 103–4),[55] ἐγὼ δέ νιν ὡς ἐνόησα | ἄρτι θύρας ὑπὲρ οὐδὸν ἀμειβόμενον ποδὶ κούφῳ ("I perceived him just now crossing the threshold on nimble foot"). Sappho first sees, then hears her beloved. The recall of Sappho's senses (sight, sound) would then open one of each of Simaitha's reworkings of Sappho's poem: she sees Delphis; she hears him. The repetition highlights a second reading of Sappho's text. At the same time, following so closely on the earlier encounter, it detracts somewhat from the potential poignancy of both the narrative and the reading.[56] Simaitha experiences a second set of physiological symptoms—extreme cold, heavy sweating, and inability to speak. The last two of these are taken, apparently, from Sappho's poem, but they are exaggerated. Sappho's portrayal of her own sweating is both simple and forceful:[57] ἀ δέ μ' ἴδρως κακχέεται ("the sweat pours down me"). Simaitha's is rather more emphatic and slightly illogical. The move from snow to dew in the two lines is not an entirely happy one: ἐκ δὲ μετώπω | ἱδρώς μευ κοχύδεσκεν ἴσον νοτίαισιν ἐέρσαις ("from my forehead sweat flowed down like wet dew"). Κακχέεται and κοχύδεσκεν are both derived ultimately from χέω and not only are composed of the same number of syllables but create the same reduplicated sound. This is a variation that works especially well if the audience is aware of the original.

In the final passage of this self-portrayal (lines 108–10) Simaitha is struck dumb and apparently physically motionless.[58] This last feature extends the image of Sappho's silence from speechlessness to lifelessness. In part, Theocritus is recalling *Iliad* 22.452–53, στήθεσι πάλλεται ἦτορ ἀνὰ στόμα, νέρθε δὲ γοῦνα | πήγνυται, as does Apollonius at *Argonautica* 3.964–65.[59] One might also wonder whether ἐπάγην is meant to distantly echo ἔαγε.[60] While it is true that ἔαγε in Sappho's text is problematic, the clear echo of this at Apollonius Rhodius 3.954, ἦ θαμὰ δὴ στηθέων ἐάγη κέαρ ("how often the heart shattered in her breast"),[61] suggests that the early Alexandrian audience knew the text of this line of Sappho fragment 31 as we have it now.

Sappho's is a poem of unrealized desire; Simaitha's, one of realized desire and subsequent abandonment. Both are portrayals of female erotic experience; both, in the confines of the song's text, at least, are sung by women. *Idyll* 2 is

[55] Bonanno 1990: 159. As Pretagostini (1984: 111) notes, the "contact points" with Sappho's text are equally distributed in its two recollections in Simaitha's song. Points where the singer of *Idyll* 2 varies from Sappho are, Pretagostini (ibid.) remarks, characteristic rather of the second of these recollections.

[56] The effect in Apollonius, where the recreation of Sappho fr. 31 is also divided, is very different, as I discuss later in this chapter.

[57] This text follows Di Benedetto 1985.

[58] Theocritus's text at line 108, οὐδέ τι φωνῆσαι δυνάμαν ("nor could I make any sound"), is, as Pretagostini (1984: 111) observes, a translation of Sappho fr. 31.7–8, με φώνη | c' οὐδὲν ἔτ' εἴκει ("no longer can I speak").

[59] See Bonanno 1990: 156–57.

[60] So Di Benedetto 1985: 154 n. 27.

[61] I discuss this passage and its perceived textual problem in detail further below in this chapter.

further a reading of at least two of Sappho's poems. As Theocritus's Aeolic poems (*Idylls* 28–31) are a reading of both Alcaeus and Sappho, and as *Idyll* 7 is a reading of multiple lyric (among other) voices,[62] *Idyll* 2 presents Sappho as both poet and text, as both erotic *pathēmata*, or experiences, and their artistic embodiment.[63] In this sense Sappho becomes the vehicle for Simaitha's erotic lament; Sappho's texts are reconfigured throughout the poem, with the final touch in Simaitha's farewell to Selene, her *symmachos*, her ally, as she journeys back to her distant home at the end of the poem—Σελαναία λιπαρόθρονε.

1.1.2. Overtones of Sappho in a Wedding Song

The close association of Theocritus's *Epithalamium of Helen* with earlier lyric voices has been noted since the earliest scholarship on the poem: the ancient scholia to this idyll already comment on some features culled from Stesichorus.[64] Another lyric model is Alcman, whose Spartan girls' choruses resonate in this later poem that figures and evokes a choral song of Spartan girls.[65] That the presence of Sappho, the poet perhaps most closely associated in antiquity with epithalamia and a poet whose lyric configuration of Helen and Helen's love is one of the highlights of her poetic art, should be felt throughout the poem is hardly surprising. Sappho's voice in this poem has been the subject of a nuanced and detailed scholarship.[66] I will consider several recollections of Sappho in *Idyll* 18 first as individual allusions and for the larger compositional force that they exert in the poem. I will then turn to one passage (lines 29–37) that seems particularly rich in allusions to Sappho. Subsequently in this analysis I take up a closer comparison of this poem to Sappho's wedding poetry, and in particular to her own lyric rendition of a heroic wedding, that of Hector and Andromache in fragment 44 (the final poem of the second book of Sappho's *melē*). Finally I will consider a remarkable parallel in the new Sappho fragment (*P.Köln* Inv. Nr. 21351 + *P.Oxy.* 1787 [fr. 58]) that sheds light on the meaning of this poem and of its singer (or singers).

Like a number of Theocritus's other poems, *Idyll* 18 has a triadic structure of narrative setting, song, and envoi.[67] In the first short section of eight lines a

[62] See Acosta-Hughes 2006a: 35–44.

[63] Some of the over-the-top character of Simaitha's self-portrayal may be owed in part to portrayal of Sappho in comedy.

[64] Ἐν αὐτῷ τινα εἴληπται ἐκ τοῦ πρώτου Στησιχόρου Ἑλένης. It is not entirely clear what the scholiast is referring to with τινα; Hunter (1996: 150–51) attractively suggests that Theocritus's poem expands on a detailed moment (the wedding song) in a longer Stesichoran lyric narrative of the marriage of Menelaus and Helen.

[65] See Dagnini 1986: 42–45; Hunter 1996: 152–55.

[66] See Dagnini 1986: 38–46; Contiades-Tsitsoni 1990: 68–109.

[67] The structure of, e.g., *Idylls* 3, 7, 11. The structure of the poems itself is an issue somewhat separate from if related to that of a possible division of the wedding song to reflect the stanzas of choral lyric; see Hunter 1996: 155–57.

nameless speaker sets the scene for the wedding song; the longer part of the song (lines 9–48) is directed by the chorus of girls to Menelaus, the φίλε γαμβρέ, "dear bridegroom," of line 9. In the envoi (lines 49–58), the girls sing to both bride and bridegroom (line 49, χαίροις, ὦ νύμφα· χαίροις, εὐπένθερε γαμβρέ, "farewell, bride; farewell, groom happy in your father-in-law"). Thus they effect the wedding song and marry the two,[68] who at the song's beginning are sleeping apart and are now sleeping together. One of the immediately compelling features of this poem, which this structure highlights, is its temporal trajectory. It begins at a time in the distant past (line 1, ἔν ποκ' ἄρα Σπάρτᾳ, "once upon a time in Sparta"),[69] then looks to the present (line 9), to the morrow (line 39), to the more distant future and an established rite (lines 47–48, γράμματα δ' ἐν φλοιῷ γεγράψεται, ὡς παριών τις | ἀννείμῃ Δωριστί, "and on its bark letters will be written, that someone passing by may read in Doric"), and to a future differently expressed in the envoi to bride and groom.[70] This same temporal shifting creates certain shifts in perception as the poem unfolds. At several points in the course of the hexameter lines *Idyll* 18 calls attention to its own literary quality as it calls attention to its reading of Sappho.

1. The first is at line 3, a line with multilayered significance: πρόσθε νεογράπτω θαλάμω χορὸν ἐστάσαντο ("they set up a dance before the newly depicted bridal chamber"). Hunter (1996: 151 n. 38) observes that χορὸν ἐστάσαντο may well be a play on the name of the poet Στησίχορος, one of the primary Archaic models of this idyll. As the poem ends with a hemiepes (line 58, Ὑμὴν ὦ Ὑμέναιε) that clearly suggests Sappho, Theocritus appears to be announcing his poetic models; ἔν ποκ' ἄρα Σπάρτᾳ (line 1) might similarly lead us to Alcman.

2. Second, line 3 defines the song generically; *Idyll* 18 is indeed a song sung before the bridal chamber, an epithalamium.[71] A poem that will conclude with an aition (and indeed, in a sense, a title for the poem itself: line 48, Ἐλένας φυτόν εἰμι, "I am Helen's plant") begins with a definition. Further, in a poem that is replete with allusions to, in particular, Sappho's wedding poetry, this initial generic marker serves as a guide to what will become a mosaic of allusions to earlier epithalamia.

3. In considering this literary play, a further question comes to mind with the expression νεογράπτω θαλάμω. At a literal level this is a reference to the custom of decorating bridal chambers and is an apt image for a poem that is much

[68] See Ferrari (2007: 119–21) on Sappho fr. 111 and the actual moment of the song sung at the nuptial chamber door.

[69] Cf. Hunter 1996: 149.

[70] In this respect there are marked similarities with Callimachus frr. 67–75 (*Acontius and Cydippe*), another work that not only implicates Sappho but also juxtaposes choral song and written text. See below, further "Epilogue: *Acontius and Cydippe*" in chapter 2 under subsection 2.1.2, "'Unwillingly I left': History of a Lament."

[71] Dagnini 1986: 42.

concerned with handcraft and material.[72] Νεόγραπτος occurs only here;[73] while literally the image of the newly decorated bedchamber is perfectly suitable, one might wonder if this is also a reference to Stesichorus's poem on Helen's marriage. For that wedding song (so understanding θαλάμω by synecdoche), while composed long before the present one, is newly wrought (so νεογράπτω) in relation to Helen's ancient story.

4. Some support for such a metaphorical reading of νεογράπτω θαλάμω comes from the last lines of the wedding song of this poem (47–48): γράμματα δ' ἐν φλοιῷ γεγράψεται, ὡς παριών τις | ἀννείμῃ Δωριστί· 'σεβευ μ'· Ἑλένας φυτόν εἰμι' ("and on its bark letters will be written, that someone passing by may read in Doric: 'Honor me. I am Helen's plant' "). While the two lines are not without their interpretive difficulties, especially the exact form of ἀννείμῃ,[74] the potential for a metapoetical reading is considerable. The passing reader will read this, Helen's poem, in Doric—as indeed it is.[75] Again synecdoche is at play. The letters written on the plane tree's bark remind the passerby at once of cult aition and figure honored, as the reader of the Doric poem recalls its occasion and its subject.[76] The emphasis on writing in a choral song is an anachronistic touch, as, also metapoetic, is the emphasis on handiwork at lines 32–34. Together these evoke a striking contrast of performative (the act of wool working) and wrought (the work itself).

Leaving aside the vexed issue of whether or not the Hellenistic period attributed a book of epithalamia to Sappho,[77] we may note that Sappho's poetry is richly imbued with themes and images of weddings and wedding songs; antiquity clearly saw her as a model for wedding poetry. Himerius (*Or*. 9.4 = Sappho fr. 194) appears to paraphrase a wedding song of Sappho's that includes the phrase καὶ ποιεῖν ‹ᾠδὴν› τὸν θάλαμον ("and to compose the epithalamium"). Here the metaphorical use of θάλαμος is worth noting. This passage in Himerius, a discussion of erotic poetry, suggests a long tradition of Sappho's association with epithalamia (τὰ δὲ Ἀφροδίτης ὄργια παρῆκαν [*sc*. οἱ ποιηταὶ] τῇ Λεσβίᾳ Σαπφοῖ

[72] Gow 1952: II 349; Ferrari 2007: 123.

[73] The parallel use of νεόγραφα at Meleager 1.55 GP is fascinating: ἄλλων τ' ἔρνεα πολλὰ νεόγραφα ("many new written buds of others"). The metaphorical use here is similar to that of *Idyll* 18.47.

[74] See Gow 1952: II 359.

[75] There is a similar metapoetic play at Callim. fr. 73, ἀλλ' ἐνὶ δὴ φλοιοῖσι κεκομμένα τόσσα φέροιτε | γράμματα, Κυδίππην ὅσσα' ἐρέουσι καλήν ("but may you bear, inscribed on your bark, so many letters as say that Cydippe is beautiful"), where Acontius inscribes Callimachus's elegiac couplet.

[76] Doric dialect appears again in a similarly self-conscious context, and in a similarly Doric-colored context, in *Idyll* 15.92–93: Πελοποννασιστὶ λαλεῦμες, | Δωρίσδειν δ' ἔξεστι, δοκῶ, τοῖς Δωριέεσσι, "we speak as Peloponnesians do; it is possible, I suppose, for Dorians to speak in Doric." A slightly different use of specified Doric dialect occurs at Callim. fr. 203.18 (*Iambus* 13),Ἰαστὶ καὶ Δωριστὶ καὶ τὸ σύμμικ|τ̣ον[. ("in the Ionic and Doric and the intermingled fashion"), on which see Acosta-Hughes 2002: 63 n. 18.

[77] See the discussion below in the appendix to chapter 2.

ᾄδειν πρὸς λύραν καὶ ποιεῖν τὸν θάλαμον, "the other poets left Aphrodite's rites to Lesbian Sappho to sing to the lyre and compose as epithalamia"). Further, *The Epithalamius of Achilles and Deidameia*, ascribed to Bion by Ursinus (and Ps.-Bion fr. 2 in Gow's OCT),[78] testifies to her influence in later wedding poetry. We see her influence here at once. *Idyll* 18 opens with a definition of its genre at line 3 and closes with what has come to be the signature phrase of epithalamia, Ὑμὴν ὦ Ὑμέναιε, one closely associated with Sappho, as both Catullus 61 and 62 and Dioscorides 18 GP clearly show.[79] Sappho's wedding poetry is of varied timbre, some sorrowful, some elevated, some jocular. A few extant fragments that find resonance in Theocritus's wedding song for Helen are the following:[80]

Theocritus, Idyll 18.7–8	*Sappho Fragment 44.25–26*
ἄειδον δ' ἄρα πᾶσαι ἐς ἓν μέλος ἐγκροτέοισαι	⌞καὶ ψ[ό]φο[c κ]ροτάλ⌟[ων]ως δ' ἄρα πάρ[θενοι
ποσσὶ περιπλέκτοις, ὑπὸ δ' ἴαχε δῶμ' ὑμεναίῳ·	⌞ἄειδον μέλος ἄγν⌟[ον, ἵκα]νε δ' ἐc ᾱἲθ[ερα
All sang to one song, beating with quick-moving feet, and the house resounded with the wedding hymn.	and the sound of rattles . . . and the girls sang a pure song, (which came) to the upper air
Theocritus, Idyll 18. 9, 16	*Sappho Fragments 112.1, 113.2, 115.1*
ὦ φίλε γαμβρέ	ὄλβιε γάμβρε
ὄλβιε γάμβρ'	ὦ γάμβρε
	ὦ φίλε γάμβρε
dear bridegroom	happy bridegroom
happy bridegroom	bridegroom
	dear bridegroom
Theocritus, Idyll 18.20	*Sappho Fragment 113.1–2*
οἷα . . . οὐδεμί' ἄλλα	οὐ γὰρ
	ἀτέρα νῦν πάιc. . . τεαύτα
such as . . . no other	for no other girl . . . such a one
Theocritus, Idyll 18.29–30	*Sappho Fragment 115*
πιείρᾳ μεγάλα ἅτ' ἀνέδραμε κόσμος ἀρούρᾳ	Τίωι c', ὦ φίλε γάμβρε, κάλως ἐικάcδω;
καὶ κάπῳ κυπάρισσος.	ὄρπακι βραδίνωι cε μάλιcτ' ἐικάcδω.

[78] See Reed 1997: 29.

[79] Dioscorides 18 GP is a grab bag of famous moments in Sappho: see the detailed discussion below in the next chapter.

[80] Sappho fr. 108 (corresponding below with Theocr. 18.38) is cited by Himerius, *Or*. 9.19 (p. 84 Colonna).

As a tall cypress qrows up, an ornament,
in a rich field or garden. . . .

Theocritus, Idyll 18.31
ῥοδόχρως Ἑλένα

rose-skinned Helen

Theocritus, Idyll 18.32, 35
οὐδέ τις ἐκ ταλάρω πανίσδεται ἔργα τοιαῦτα
οὐ μὰν οὐδὲ λύραν τις ἐπίσταται ὧδε κροτῆσαι

no one winds such work from her basket
nor indeed is anyone as skilled at striking the lyre

Theocritus, Idyll 18.37
ὡς Ἑλένα, τᾶς πάντες ἐπ' ὄμμασιν ἵμεροι ἐντί.

As Helen, in whose eyes are all desires.

Theocritus, Idyll 18.38
ὦ καλά, ὦ χαρίεσσα κόρα

beautiful, graceful girl

Theocritus, Idyll 18.49
χαίροις, ὦ νύμφα· χαίροις, εὐπένθερε γαμβρέ.

farewell, bride; farewell, groom fortunate
in your father-in-law

To what, dear bridegroom, might I best liken you?
I liken you most to a slender sapling.

Sappho P.Köln Inv. Nr. 21351.17
βροδόπαχυν Αὔων

rosy-armed Dawn

Sappho Fragment 56.1–2
οὐδ' ἴαν δοκίμωμι προσίδοισαν φάος ἀλίω

ἔσσεσθαι σοφίαν πάρθενον εἰς οὐδένα πω χρόνον
τεαύταν

nor do I think there will be such a girl who looks
upon the violet of the sun's light at any other time

Sappho Fragment 112.3–5
σοι χάριεν μὲν εἶδος, ὄππατα ‹δ' . . . .›
μέλλιχ', ἔρος δ' ἐπ' ἰμέρτωι κέχυται προσώπωι
‹.....› τετίμακ' ἔξοχά σ' Ἀφροδίτα

fair is your face, and your eyes
honeylike, and desire is poured upon your face
(. . .) Aphrodite has loved you exceedingly

Sappho Fragment 108
ὦ κάλα, ὦ χαρίεσσα κόρα

beautiful, graceful girl

Sappho Fragments 116 and 117
χαῖρε, νύμφα, χαῖρε, τίμιε γάμβρε, πόλλα
†χαίροις ἀ νύμφα†, χαιρέτω δ' ὀ γάμβρος

farewell, bride; farewell, honored groom, many times,
may you, the bride, be fortunate, and so the groom

Theocritus, Idyll 18.54	*Sappho Fragment 126*
εὕδετ᾽ ἐς ἀλλάλων στέρνον φιλότατα πνέοντες	δαύοις(᾽) ἀπάλας ἐτα‹ί›ρας ἐν στήθεσιν
sleep breathing love into one another's breasts	may you sleep on the breast of a gentle companion
Theocritus, Idyll 18.26	*Sappho P.Köln Inv. Nr. 21351 + P.Oxy. 1787*
Ἀὼς ἀντέλλοισα καλὸν διέφανε πρόσωπον	καὶ γάρ π̣[ό]τ̣α̣ Τίθωνον ἔφαντο βροδόπαχυν Αὔων
Rising dawn reveals a beautiful face	for they say rosy-armed Dawn once loved Tithonus

There are, further, a number of strong thematic parallels. Theocritus 18.39–44, the chorus's assertion that on the morrow they will return to their girls' pursuits and remember (line 41, μεμναμέναι) the now married (and so separated) Helen just as suckling lambs long for their mother's teat (line 42, ποθέοισαι), is a passage that recalls Sappho's poetry of separation and longing (e.g., fr. 94), as well as something of its erotic quality.[81] Similarly, the exhortation to the bride and groom at Theocritus 18.55 to remember to rise at dawn following their wedding night is paralleled by Sappho fragments 30 and 43.[82]

A close reading of these parallels prompts several conjectures. On one hand, both authors derive much from a common pool of wedding language and imagery, as well as from the poetry that includes this language and imagery. Further, for both there may be other, perhaps mutual, models. This is true of the two arboreal comparisons, which owe something to *Odyssey* 6.161–69. At the same time, there may be many parallels to lost Sappho that we cannot reconstruct. (A reading of Catullus's Sappho poems [*Carmina* 61 and 62] may be instructive here.) Nonetheless the comparison is illuminating. Even given the extremely fragmentary state of Sappho's extant wedding poetry, there is a parallelism in tone, choice of expression, and manner of expressing the praise of a young woman.

Sappho is further, though, a poet specifically of Helen and of Helen's loves. Like fragments 1 and 31 of Book 1, Sappho fragment 16 was well known, a poem that was to have a long history of imitation both for its lyric treatment of an epic theme and for the priamel form. Sappho's poetry also shows a striking use of celestial images and of their juxtaposition. With these two observations in mind, one passage of Theocritus's *Idyll*. 18 that shows a particular affinity with Sappho is lines 26–37:

> Ἀὼς ἀντέλλοισα καλὸν διέφανε πρόσωπον,
> πότνια Νύξ, τό τε λευκὸν ἔαρ χειμῶνος ἀνέντος·

[81] See Dagnini 1986: 44.
[82] Dagnini ibid. 41–42.

ὦδε καὶ ἁ χρυσέα Ἑλένα διεφαίνετ᾽ ἐν ἁμῖν.
πιείρᾳ μεγάλα ἅτ᾽ ἀνέδραμε κόσμος ἀρούρᾳ
καὶ κάπῳ κυπάρισσος, ἢ ἅρματι Θεσσαλὸς ἵππος,
ὦδε καὶ ἁ ῥοδόχρως Ἑλένα Λακεδαίμονι κόσμος·
οὐδέ τις ἐκ ταλάρω πανίσδεται ἔργα τοιαῦτα,
οὐδ᾽ ἐνὶ δαιδαλέῳ πυκινώτερον ἄτριον ἱστῷ
κερκίδι συμπλέξαισα μακρῶν ἔταμ᾽ ἐκ κελεόντων,
οὐ μὰν οὐδὲ λύραν τις ἐπίσταται ὧδε κροτῆσαι
Ἄρτεμιν ἀείδοισα καὶ εὐρύστερνον Ἀθάναν
ὡς Ἑλένα, τᾶς πάντες ἐπ᾽ ὄμμασιν ἵμεροι ἐντί.

Rising dawn reveals a beautiful face, Lady Night, as does bright spring when winter recedes. So too did golden Helen appear among us. As a tall cypress grows up, an ornament, in a rich field or garden, or a Thessalian horse to its chariot, so too is rose-skinned Helen an ornament to Lacedaemon. No one winds such work from her basket, nor at her decorated loom on weaving with her shuttle cuts off a thicker warp from the high beams. Nor indeed is anyone as skilled at striking the lyre when singing of Artemis and broad-chested Athena as Helen, in whose eyes are all desires.

The juxtapositions of lines 26–27, dawn and night, spring and winter, are found inverted in Sappho fragment 96, especially in lines 7–9 with the quick succession of sun, moon, and stars.[83] Here the sun is setting, and the woman's beauty is compared to that of the rising moon. Does Theocritus want us to notice the inversion with his "Lady Night"? The same Sappho poem has the unexpected image of the "rosy-fingered moon" (βροδοδάκτυλος ‹σελάννα›).[84] While the adjective ῥοδόχρως at *Idyll* 18.31 gives Helen a suitable epic-sounding epithet, it also, I suggest, evokes Sappho's imagery and Sappho's comparisons of female beauty, as well as Sappho's own reconfigurations of epic (so, e.g., *P.Köln* Inv. Nr. 21351.17, βροδόπαχυν Αὔων, to which I return below). Perhaps the most startling aspect of these lines of Theocritus 18 is their priamellike structure. Sappho's own priamel on Helen's love (fr. 16) celebrates Helen in terms of or in contrast to male poetic space. What one loves (lines 3–4, ἔγω δὲ κῆν᾽ ὅτ- | τω τις ἔραται) leads to an understanding of Helen's departure from domesticity. Theocritus's wedding poem, by contrast, celebrates Helen's domestic virtues, in priamel form and from a female perspective, here that of a chorus of young girls. And among these talents is Helen's as ἀοιδός; she is characterized as a lyric poet

[83] Sappho fr. 96.6–9: νῦν δὲ Λύδαισιν ἐμπρέπεται γυναί- | κεσσιν ὥς ποτ᾽ ἀελίω | δύντος ἀ βροδοδάκτυλος ‹σελαννα › | πάντα περ‹ρ›έχοις᾽ ἄστρα "now she is resplendent among the women of Lydia as is the rosy-fingered moon on the setting of the sun, far surpassing all the stars."

[84] Both text and interpretation are problematic. Unusual use of roses and of rose imagery is something of a specialty of Sappho's. It may be in part for this reason that Meleager in the opening poem of his *Garland* terms Sappho's epigrams roses.

who celebrates Artemis and Athena—a poem that recalls a female lyric poet's celebration of Helen features Helen as a lyric poet.[85]

Sappho's poem on the wedding of Hector and Andromache (fr. 44) was the final poem of Book 2 of the Alexandrian edition.[86] Some scholars have suggested that the poem was itself a hymenaion.[87] In any event, Sappho's creation of a wedding song within the epic narrative of Hector and Andromache is a remarkable instance of inscribing one poetic form (here wedding song) into another—the *thrēnos* at the end of *Iliad* 24 makes a good comparison. Of all Sappho's extant adaptations of heroic material, this one most closely imitates epic form and marks its distance from epic as it does so.[88] The marriage of Hector and Andromache as we see it in Homer is a union portrayed with great pathos in *Iliad* 6.392–434 in terms of Andromache's loss of her own family and fatherland and complete dependence on Hector. In Sappho, Andromache arrives amid images of luxury and abundance, most significantly with her "playthings of many kinds" (line 9, ποίκιλ' ἀθύρματα), a feature very much Sappho's. Sappho here, in a moment that prefigures Hellenistic poetry, expands the Homeric phrasing of (e.g.) πόρε μυρία ἕδνα (*Il.* 22.472, "he brought myriad gifts") into a more precise, personalized vision of material objects and one imbued with the *habrosynē*, or luxury, and *poikilia*, or variety, characteristic of her poetry. The union of Hector and Andromache in the *Iliad* is a moment in their past; Sappho's poem is an extended celebration of that past moment, one made especially poignant by the allusions to their later tragedy (e.g., line 12, φάμα δ' ἦλθε κατὰ πτόλιν, "rumor went through the city"). Sappho's poem appropriates heroic material and recasts it in lyric imagery and in a lyrically focused narrative.

Theocritus's wedding song is specifically cast as a performance by a chorus of young girls,[89] a chorus of which Helen was hitherto the most outstanding member (lines 35–37). Setting this particular marriage in this particular context is a more radical generic move than may at first be apparent. The contest for Helen

[85] In another association, it is worthwhile to compare this image with Homer's portrayal of Helen at *Iliad* 3.125–28. Here Iris comes upon Helen at her loom, where the theme of Helen's work is the Trojan War (lines 126–27). The verb ὕφαινε (line 125), while appropriate in a literal sense, has also a metapoetic connotation. Theocritus carries this conceit a step further; the material of Helen's song is appropriate to a girls' chorus, but Helen excelling in singing and at the lyre comes as something of a surprise.

[86] See the appendix to chapter 2 below.

[87] See Calame 1996: 199 n. 25 for citations; Page 1955: 70–74.

[88] So similar to Homer indeed, especially in the retention of epic forms, that Sappho's authorship has been doubted; see Page 1955: 67–70.

[89] Lines 7–8, ἄειδον δ' ἅμα πᾶσαι ἐς ἓν μέλος ἐγκροτέοισαι | ποσσὶ περιπλέκτοις, ὑπὸ δ' ἴαχε δῶμ' ὑμεναίῳ, "they all sang one tune together, beating it out with flashing feet, and the house resounded with the wedding-song." Hunter (1996: 140) suggests that this passage might even specifically evoke something like the "flashing feet" of Archaic dance descriptions (e.g., *Od.* 265: μαρμαρυγάς . . . ποδῶν). If περιπλέκτοις is indeed the correct reading here (see Gow 1952: II 350–51), it comes as the first of three images with the verb πλέκω in the poem: line 34, συμπλέξαισα; line 44, πλέξαισαι.

in heroic narrative took place in an exclusively male context, in male competition for her hand.[90] This contest, evoked in lines 16–18, becomes here rather the springboard for a narrative of young girls' association and competition. In this competition Helen is always the victor.[91] And, like Sappho's *Wedding of Hector and Andromache*, this poem reconfigures epic material into lyric. As I. Dagnini has acutely observed,[92] Helen is the figure that brings together filiations in Theocritus of both Sappho and Alcman. As R. Hunter notes,[93] this is also true of the Helen of Stesichorus. Further, in the context of the early Ptolemaic court, Helen is a model, and a very important one, for the Greek queen. Herself a *hēmitheos* who at the end of her life is assumed into heaven,[94] the object of cult worship at Sparta, Helen becomes the linchpin of Ptolemaic royal cult. Theocritus, *Idyll* 15.110–11, ἁ Βερενικεία θυγάτηρ Ἑλένᾳ εἰκυῖα | Ἀρσινόα ("the Berenicean daughter, like Helen, Arsinoe"), exemplifies this—Berenice, now immortal, is identified as the *synnaos* of Aphrodite, the god who shares her temple; the living Arsinoe is identified with Aphrodite's avatar, Helen. As a model for the royal marriage of Ptolemy II and Arsinoe, the married pair Menelaus and Helen, figures of Greek mythohistory with marked Egyptian associations,[95] are in an additional sense especially suitable. They have no son and, in that aspect, serve as an appropriate image for a childless union.[96] That both *Idylls* 17 and 18 conclude with the image of marital love is not fortuitous:[97] one is an explicit praise of the royal marriage; the other, a celebration of a significant mythohistorical model of the same union.

Both Theocritus 18 and Callimachus fragment 110 (*The Lock of Berenice*) celebrate royal weddings. Both do so partly through a song of memory and longing sung by figures now separated from the royal bride. And in both poems Sappho's poetry of separation and longing plays a pivotal role. She provides a unique imagery of longing and of the recollected scenes of young girls' shared

[90] This was probably an episode recounted in the *Cypria*; it is recounted in Euripides, *Iphigenia in Aulis* 55–71.

[91] The implicit evocation of this context also concludes the narrative of the young girls' competition at line 37: ὡς Ἑλένα, τᾶς πάντες ἐπ' ὄμμασιν ἴμεροι ἐντί.

[92] Dagnini 1986: 43.

[93] Hunter 1996: 150.

[94] Callim. fr. 227 Dieg. The juxtaposition of frr. 227 and 228, which figure the assumption of Helen and that of Arsinoe, both by the Dioscuri, is one vivid example of Helen's role in the dynamics of early Ptolemaic ruler cult; another is her presence in the *Victoria Berenices*.

[95] Vasunia 2001: 33–40, 58–74 passim; Stephens 2003: 27–28.

[96] Cf. *Od*. 4.10–14: Megapenthes is Menelaus's son by another woman, as Ptolemy III is of Ptolemy II. Menelaus and Helen do of course have a daughter, Hermione. At the same time, the treatment of Helen and Menelaus in Theocritus 18 is partly ironic: see Damon 1995: 113; Stern 1978: 29–37. This irony does not necessarily deflect from the model's value; Theocr. *Id.* 15 and 24 both demonstrate the role of humor in Ptolemaic royal iconography.

[97] Both poems conclude with celebrations of parental figures, images of marital love (17.128–30, 18.54–55), and hymnic salutations (17.135–37; 18.49, 58).

life before marriage,[98] but at the same time the songs themselves are recollections of an earlier lyric and of its scenes of occasional performance.[99] The opening words of *Idyll* 18, ἔν ποκ᾽ ἄρα Σπάρτᾳ ("once upon a time in Sparta"), are emblematic of a distance not only from mythological subject matter but also from a type of song.[100] As Apollonius at the conclusion of the *Argonautica* (4.1773–81) signals his cultural distance from the figures of his epic, so Theocritus sets a parameter of cultural distance—the chorus wishes the mythological couple well, with Sappho's language (line 58), in a future set long ago.

POSTSCRIPT: THE NEW SAPPHO

The publication of the new Sappho poem (*P.Köln* Inv. Nr. 21351 + *P.Oxy.* 1787 [fr. 58), reveals yet another Sappho intertext in Theocritus 18 and reminds us, inevitably, that there may be a far greater presence of Sappho in this poem than we can ascertain. The lines in question of the new poem are 9–10:

> καὶ γάρ ᾳ̣[ό]τᾳ̣ Τίθωνον ἔφαντο βροδόπαχυν Αὔων
> ἔρωι φ. . ᾳ̣θ̣ειαν βάμεν᾽ εἰc ἔcχατα γᾶc φέροιcα[ν,

They say once rosy-armed Dawn, in love with Tithonus, bore him off to the ends of the earth.

The lines of *Idyll* 18 in question are two, one the opening and the other the closing image of the wedding song's celebration of Helen's physical beauty (lines 26–31):

> Ἀὼς ἀντέλλοισα καλὸν διέφανε πρόσωπον,
> πότνια Νύξ, τό τε λευκὸν ἔαρ χειμῶνος ἀνέντος·
> ὥδε καὶ ἁ χρυσέα Ἑλένα διεφαίνεντ᾽ ἐν ἁμῖν.
> πιείρᾳ μεγάλα ἅτ᾽ ἀνέδραμε κόσμος ἀρούρᾳ
> καὶ κάπῳ κυπάρισσος, ἢ ἅρματι Θεσσαλὸς ἵππος, 30
> ὥδε καὶ ἁ ῥοδόχρως Ἑλένα Λακεδαίμονι κόσμος.

Rising dawn reveals a beautiful face, Lady Night, as does bright spring when winter recedes. So did golden Helen appear among us. As a tall cypress grows up, an ornament, in a rich field or garden, or a Thessalian horse to its chariot, so too is rose-skinned Helen an ornament to Lacedaemon.

The relationship of the texts is a complex one, working at three levels: verbal recall, mythological parallel, and the vision of the singer.

1. Ἀώς, "Dawn," occurs once elsewhere in Theocritus similarly personified (13.11, οὔθ᾽ ὁπόχ᾽ ἁ λεύκιππος ἀνατρέχοι ἐς Διὸς Ἀώς, "nor when Dawn with her white horses turned back to Zeus's home"); but the more striking parallel

[98] On this aspect of Sappho frr. 94–96, see Gentili 1966: 53–54.

[99] See Dagnini 1986: 45.

[100] See Hunter 1996: 149–51; Morrison 2007: 239–41.

here is the reconfiguration in both texts of the Homeric ῥοδοδάκτυλος Ἠώς. Sappho's configuration, βροδόπαχυς Αὔως, both varies the Homeric vision of Dawn's unfolding redness and eroticizes her, appropriately for this context. To put it another way, Sappho enlivens the inert Homeric metaphor of Dawn leaving the bed of Tithonus.[101]

The reading preserved by the manuscript tradition to Theocritus 2.148, Ἀῶ τὰν ῥοδόπαχυν, is worth reconsideration here. A.S.F. Gow prefers the reading ῥοδόεσσαν from the Antinoe codex,[102] but this is not an infallible source, nor a particularly early one.[103] *Idyll* 2 is a poem, as we have seen, heavily imbued with resonances of Sappho; further, both Selene, the addressee of this poem, and Dawn are goddesses implicated in love affairs with mortals, neither of which ended well, both sung by Sappho.[104] It would make sense, for both Theocritus and Simaitha as artists, to recall these Sapphic versions.

2. In mythological terms, both Helen and Dawn are more than mortal and are involved with mortals—the comparison with Dawn at the opening of Helen's aretalogy here underscores exactly this. Neither is on a par with her mortal companion in later life.

3. The wedding song for Helen is in part a lament for Helen's separation, through marriage, from the communal life of young girls. It is especially telling that Helen in this poem is portrayed as a singer of the goddesses of young girls Athena and Artemis (lines 35–37). This characterization puts her, in one sense, in the same situation as the singer of Sappho's lament for her youth, the singer of the new Sappho fragment, though set apart now from the θῆλυς νεολαία (*Id*. 18.24).

1.2. Wherefore Your Name: Sappho and Apollonius

Resonances of earlier lyric poets color Apollonius's epic narrative throughout, from the opening of the poem with its recall of Medea's vatic revelations in

[101] Sappho uses this epithet elsewhere (fr. 53, on which see "The New Sappho Again" under subsection 2.1.2 below in chapter 2) of the Charites. At fr. 103.10, Dawn is "golden-sandaled" (χρυσοπέδιλ‹λ›[ο]ς), again a variation on a Homeric epithet, this time on one given—once—to Hera (*Od*. 11.604). Ῥοδόπαχυς is used by other poets of a variety of figures, but not of Dawn: Hes. *Th*. 246, 251, of the Nereids Eunice and Hipponoe; Bacchyl. 13.96, of Endaïs, mother of Peleus and Telamon. An exception here is *Hom. Hymn* 31.6, which may, however, be quite late.

[102] Gow 1952: II 60, "ῥοδόεσσαν, though not elsewhere used of a person, seems a somewhat choicer lection than ῥοδόπαχυν, which is attached to Dawn (as an alternative to ῥοδοδάκτυλος) at *Hom. Hymn* 31.6, and used also of other immortals (cf. 15.128)." But it's worth noting that the immortal in question at Theocr. 15.128 is Adonis, and this might well also be a resonance from Sappho.

[103] See Gow 1952: I xlix–l. I discuss this possible allusion to the new Sappho fragment at greater length in Acosta-Hughes 2006b.

[104] For Endymion, see Theocr. 3.49–50.

Pindar's *Pythian* 4 to the poem's envoi, which, though in a hymnic moment, marks the poem's lyric structure.[105] Modern appreciation of Apollonius's use of earlier lyric is necessarily uneven. For example, one of his central lyric sources, *Pythian* 4, is extant, and a long and rich scholarship has dramatized the relationship of the two works.[106] But Pindar is far from the only lyric presence in the *Argonautica*, as the wealth of lyric fragments preserved in the Apollonius scholia attest.[107] Indeed, the novelty of Apollonius's *Argonautica* in large part derives from its appropriation of multiple poetic voices.[108]

In Sappho's case, her presence in the *Argonautica* occurs in several different modes. The following pages consider three of these. One is quite well known, Apollonius's evocation in particular of Sappho fragment 31 in the portrayal of Medea's erotic confusion, though the new Sappho fragment illuminates this rapport even further, and the opening lines of *Argonautica* 4 add a further dimension to the rapport of these texts. Apollonius's use of Sappho's lyric as a structural boundary specifically for *Argonautica* 3 is less recognized, and I begin here. Finally, Apollonius's use of the female gaze in other parts of the poem is enhanced by a reading of several of these scenes against Sappho, suggesting not only a wealth but also a great variety in his use of her voice.

1.2.1. A Poet and Two Muses

> Εἰ δ' ἄγε νῦν, Ἐρατώ, παρά θ' ἵστασο καί μοι ἔνισπε
> ἔνθεν ὅπως ἐς Ἰωλκὸν ἀνήγαγε κῶας Ἰήσων
> Μηδείης ὑπ' ἔρωτι. Σὺ γὰρ καὶ Κύπριδος αἶσαν
> ἔμμορες, ἀδμῆτας δὲ τεοῖς μελεδήμασι θέλγεις
> παρθενικάς· τῶ καί τοι ἐπήρατον οὔνομ' ἀνῆπται.
>
> (*Arg.* 3.1–5)

[105] *Arg.* 1.1, ἀρχόμενος σέο Φοῖβε παλαιγενέων κλέα φωτῶν, ≈ Pind. *Pyth*. 4.12, κέκλυτε, παῖδες ὑπερθύμων τε φωτῶν καὶ θεῶν. Both Apollonius and Pindar create a setting of singer and audience; both set, though differently, a distance between singer and heroes. The immediate subject of Medea's revelation is the narrative of Euphemus and the instantiation of Cyrene, the last major episode of Apollonius's poem (4.1731–64); this too is revealed, here through Jason's interpretation of Euphemus's dream. One might press the point a bit further and argue that Apollonius's propitiatory farewell to his poem's heroes parallels the distance of *Pyth*. 4.12, and that Pindar's Medea embraces the *Argonautica* at both ends. While it is true that the *Argonautica*'s opening line in part evokes Achilles singing the κλέα ἀνδρῶν (thereby implicating a hero in a famously hero-anonymous proem), the union of lyric and epic tones begins already here.

[106] Cf. Cusset 1999: 332. On Pindar's *Pythian* 4 and Apollonius's *Argonautica,* see Hunter 1993: 60, 116, 123–25, 152–53; Stephens 2003: 178–81, 195, 208–9, 223–24; J. Murray 2005: 6–41.

[107] This is particularly impressive in the case of Simonides: see below, chapter 5.4, "Apollonius and Simonides." This is also true of Ibycus: see below, chapter 4.5, "Ibycus in the *Argonautica* Scholia."

[108] See Acosta-Hughes 2007. On the lyric nature of some aspects of the poem's narrative, see T. Rosenmeyer 1992.

> Come now, Erato, stand by, and tell me how Jason brought back the fleece from there to Iolcus, through Medea's love. For you too have a share of Cypris's lot, and you enchant unwed young girls with your cares. Thus to you is fitted a name of love.

The proem to Book 3 changes the poem's direction to a more lyric mode. The invocation of Erato (line 1), the presentation of the world of young girls' concerns (lines 4–5), and the etymology of the Muse's name all contribute to effecting this transition. Each merits thoughtful consideration.[109]

1. The Muses are absent in the very opening lines of the poem's first book. Further, their appearance a the end of that book's introit (line 22, Μοῦσαι δ' ὑποφήτορες εἶεν ἀοιδῆς, "Muses be interpreters of my song") is a complex and problematically modern Apollonian compositional gesture.[110] With εἰ δ' ἄγε νῦν Ἐρατώ, παρά θ' ἵστασο καί μοι ἔνισπε, we are seemingly back in a traditional epic motif. Yet the Muse, Erato, is the surprising element here. Erato was apparently one of the Muses who figured in the first two books of Callimachus's *Aetia* (*SH* fr. 238.8);[111] her appearance in the early lines of *Aeneid* 7 reflects, indeed imitates, the emphasis of her place in Apollonius—here in *Aeneid* 7, too, the poem changes, and the opening of its second half marks a change of direction.[112]

2. *Argonautica* 3.2 appears to allude to the elegiac poet Mimnermus's treatment of this theme (fr. 10.1 Gentili-Prato, οὐδέ κοτ' ἂν μέγα κῶας ἀνήγαγεν αὐτὸς Ἰήσων, "nor would Jason himself ever have brought back the great fleece") and so segues, in terms of poetic models, already into another genre. Mimnermus's value as a love poet is relevant here; this is true of his presence in the *Aetia* prologue and subsequently for a long Roman tradition.

3. Beginning line 3, Μηδείης ὑπ' ἔρωτι defines the nature of the book—erotic—but more specifically places Medea on the same heroic plane as Jason; they are the principal agents here.[113] Extant Archaic heroic narrative does not provide an erotic parallel, though it is hard to judge in the case of the *Naupactia*.

[109] Cf. Morrison 2007: 299.

[110] Paduano 1970 remains a seminal discussion. See also Gonzalez 2000; Clare 2002: 265; Morrison 2007: 286–95. Cf. Bacch. 9.3 (the poet of himself), Μουσᾶν γε ἰοβλεφάρων θεῖος προφ[άτ]ας, "prophet of the violet-lidded Muses"—this is the sort of lyric gesture that Apollonius reflects here.

[111] The exact context of this fragment is unknown; see Massimilla 1996: 429–31.

[112] *Aen*. 7.37: "Nunc age, qui reges, Erato, quae tempora rerum." The imitation is complex. Erato in Virgil's text is on the other side of the caesura, but still emphasized by it; "nunc age" reproduces ἄγε νῦν, but in reverse order. Virgil's narrative stance in the lines "Nunc age . . . expediam . . . recovabo . . . tu vatem, tu, diva, mone" recalls, though differently cast, the elements of the opening of *Argonautica* 1: the poet's is the initial verbal urge; the figure of the interpreter reappears (line 41), though here this is the poet, at *Arg*. 1.22 the Muses. Further, *Aen*. 7.41, "tu vatem, tu, diva, mone," may be meant to recall as well the opening of *Arg*. 4, αὐτὴ νῦν κάματον γε, θεά . . . Μοῦσα, Διὸς τέκος (lines 1–2; note the repetition of the Muse-addressee).

[113] As Hunter (1993a: 59) observes, Medea and Eros enter together; Eros does not appear in *Arg*. 1 or 2.

For example, fragment 6 Bernabé suggests a role for at least Pothos ("Desire") in the narrative.[114] M. M. Gillies, in the introduction to his commentary on Book 3 of Apollonius (1928), may well be right to point to Stesichorus as a conduit of the erotic into heroic narrative.[115] One poem, also etiological, that may be implicated here is Sappho fragment 16, where Helen and her love are juxtaposed to male heroic narrative.

4. Lines 4–5, ἀδμῆτας δὲ τεοῖς μελεδήμασι θέλγεις | παρθενικάς introduce a series of particularly lyric images; young girls' concerns, the element of enchantment, the seduction of the unmarried. Unmarried girls also form the performative setting of some lyric poetry, of which Sappho is an outstanding example.

5. Ἐπήρατον (line 5, "lovely"), while an epithet of both objects and places in epic, is a term that Sappho uses of both sounds and individuals. It might well be viewed as the pivot on which the modal change into the erotic narrative of *Argonautica* 3 turns.[116] One might also read this last statement, τῶ καί τοι ἐπήρατον οὔνομ' ἀνῆπται, in part metapoetically. Apollonius, in composing this erotic narrative, is also fitting it onto a heroic tale, just as he fits Erato to the introit of *Argonautica* 3.[117]

Such a careful, tonally marked invocation at the opening of *Argonautica* 3 suggests considering the invocation that opens *Argonautica* 4 again. For it too is five lines, and it also associates poet, Muse, and subject material:[118]

> Αὐτὴ νῦν κάματόν γε, θεά, καὶ δήνεα κούρης
> Κολχίδος ἔννεπε, Μοῦσα, Διὸς τέκος· ἦ γὰρ ἔμοιγε
> ἀμφασίῃ νόος ἔνδον ἑλίσσεται, ὁρμαίνοντι
> ἠέ μιν ἄτης πῆμα δυσίμερον ἦ τό γ' ἐνίσπω
> φύζαν ἀεικελίην ᾗ κάλλιπεν ἔθνεα Κόλχων. 5
>
> Yourself tell, goddess, the torment and counsels of the Colchian girl, Muse, Zeus's daughter. For my mind is with speechlessness entwined, as I ponder whether I tell of the ill-desiring misery of her passion or the shameful flight in which she left the peoples of Colchis.

The Muse whom the speaker addresses in these lines is, famously, unnamed. Clearly there is a close association of these two proems and of their signals of generic direction. And echoes of Sappho play a part in each.

[114] Cf. Vian in his introduction to vol. 3 (chant 4), 4 n. 6, on the role of Aphrodite in the *Naupactia*.

[115] Gillies 1928: xli.

[116] Sappho fr. 44.32, ˌπάντες δ' ἄνδρες ἐπˌήρατον ἴαχον ὄρθριον | ˌπάον' ὀνκαλέοντες, "all men cried out a lovely early morning song, calling upon Paean"; 96.21–23, θέαισι μόρ- | φαν ἐπή[ρατ]ον ἐξίςω- | cθαι, "in lovely form to equal the goddesses."

[117] On the trope of Erato's etymology in ancient literature, see esp. Kyriakidis 1998: 168–73.

[118] The text of line 4 is very problematic. I follow Vian's 1996 Budé edition, p. 70, in both text and subsequent translation. See further Hunter 1987: 134–39; Hunter 1993a: 65; Livrea 1973: 4–5 *ad locum*.

Apollonius's primary Homeric model for the opening of his fourth book is *Iliad* 16.435–38. Apollonius points to this model with the unusual disjunctive particle combination ἠέ μιν . . . ἦ, with the rare use of μιν in the neuter. In *Iliad* 16.435–38 Zeus ponders the fate of his son Sarpedon in his divided heart:[119]

διχθά δέ μοι κραδίη μέμονε φρεσὶν ὁρμαίνοντι, 435
ἤ μιν ζωὸν ἐόντα μάχης ἄπο δακρυοέσσης
θείω ἀναρπάξας Λυκίης ἐν πίονι δήμῳ,
ἦ ἤδη ὑπὸ χερσὶ Μενοιτιάδαο δαμάσσω.

My heart in my breast is divided as I ponder whether I set him in the rich land of Lycia after snatching him yet alive from tearful battle, or I let him be brought down at the hands of the son of Menoetius.

Zeus ponders Sarpedon's fate: Will he have a heroic death on the field of battle, or not? Hera provides the answer by insisting on Sarpedon's death. At the opening of *Argonautica* 4 the poet ponders which of two narratives he will follow—and again, Hera provides the answer, here by driving Medea to flight. The allusion to heroic death already suggests the possibility of the poem's taking a new narrative direction.

Now, the absence of a second Muse's name in the opening lines of Book 4 and the continued narrative of the story of Medea and Jason have long lent support to the assumption that the Muse of *Argonautica* 4.1–5 is also Erato, unnamed perhaps from poetic economy.[120] However, a Hellenistic poet's choice of names and epithets is always significant. The proem of Book 3 places great stress on Erato's name as appropriate for the erotic subject matter of that book. Book 4, even though it continues the suffering of Medea, is not primarily an erotic narrative, but a heroic one. The recollection of Homer's *Odyssey* in Κολχίδος ἔννεπε Μοῦσα, recasting its opening hemiepes, in θεά used as epithet of the Muse as at *Odyssey* 1.10, and in the epic Διὸς τέκος for Homer's θύγατερ Διός in that same line all underline this. The combination of κάματος and δήνεα is especially Odyssean. The single figure,[121] the suffering endured, even the reference to ethically misguided judgments all mirror, albeit in a refracted way, the opening of Homer's *Odyssey*. At the same time Apollonius, in posing his aporetic query, makes it the more effective in citing his own hexameter treatment of the erotic. Medea's (*Arg*. 3.961) κάματον δὲ δυσίμερον, roused by Jason's appearance (and at the second of Apollonius's rewrites of Sappho fragment 31), is now articulated in its turn as an epic or lyric choice—κάματόν γε . . . καὶ δήνεα (epic, *Arg*. 4.1); πῆμα δυσίμερον (lyric, *Arg*. 4.4).

[119] As Livrea notes in his commentary *ad loc*., Apollonius recalls the Homeric text specifically with the use of the first metron ἠέ μιν.

[120] Hunter 1987: 134; Hunter 1989: 95; implied by Gillies 1928: 1.

[121] Jason does not appear in the opening lines of *Arg*. 4, as he does not at the opening of *Arg*. 1.

The reflection in the opening lines may be more, or other, than thematic. The choice of epic language and imagery here, following the markedly erotic language and imagery of the opening of *Argonautica* 3, suggests as well (and again) an artistic change of direction. The opening lines of *Argonautica* 3 mark the passage's erotic and specifically lyric character; the opening of *Argonautica* 4, a shift (back) to epic, the epic of *nostos* (or "return") poetry. The speaker's indecision emblematizes this contrast and does so in a generically marked way. Lines 4–5 juxtapose the lyric character of Book 3 and the epic character of Book 4: whereas ἄτης πῆμα δυσίμερον imbues lyric coloring, φύζαν ἀεικελίην evokes the shame culture of epic. Medea is implicitly compared to a warrior who flees in battle. The opposition is even more specifically pointed in terms of this text; while ἄτης πῆμα δυσίμερον recalls moments of Medea's erotic trauma in *Argonautica* 3,[122] φύζαν ἀεικελίην is picked up in a specifically epic context in *Argonautica* 4.[123]

Of particular interest here is line 3, ἀμφασίῃ νόος ἔνδον ἑλίσσεται. As Vian notes in his introduction to *Argonautica* 4, ἀμφασία is a very strong term;[124] more specifically, this is the word with which the poet describes Medea's initial reaction when struck by Eros's arrow: τὴν δ' ἀμφασίη λάβε θυμόν (*Arg.* 3.284, "speechlessness seized her heart": beginning Apollonius's first reworking of Sappho fragment 31, and following his markedly epic description of Eros's shot).[125] At the opening of *Argonautica* 4 the heroine's internal state is transferred onto the poet. Medea's internal psychological struggle is also effectively echoed in the poet's inability to speak. His νόος ἔνδον is confused, as is hers.

Yet the inability to speak in erotic confusion is not quite the same as the perplexed hesitation between two alternatives. Such pondering is characteristic of epic heroes—but also of lyric poets, like Pindar in *Pythian* 11.22–25, trying to guess at the motives of Clytemnestra,[126] or Sappho in fragment 51: οὐκ οἶδ' ὅττι θέω· δύο μοι τὰ νοήματα ("I don't know what to do: two are my ways of thinking").

[122] *Arg.* 3.772–73, οὐδέ τις ἀλκή | πήματος, "nor is there any remedy from suffering"; 798, ὤ μοι ἐμῆς ἄτης, "alas for my ruin"; 961, κάματον δὲ δυσίμερον, "ill-desired source of suffering"; 973–74, ἄτῃ . . . | θευμορίῃ, "divine ruin." As (Hunter 1987: 134 n. 35) observes, the first two passages are from Medea's suicide speech; the second two, from her first meeting with Jason. Both passages, not coincidentally, evoke Sappho's poetry.

[123] *Arg.* 4.739–41, σχετλίη, ἦ ῥα κακὸν καὶ ἀεικέα μήσαο νόστον . . . ἐκφυγέειν, "Wretch, did you plan to flee on so wicked and unseemly a journey?" It is significant that Circe here, an epic figure, says this; see Hunter 1987: 137.

[124] Vian 1996: 3 n. 1.

[125] Medea is speechless at *Arg.* 3.634–35 and again at 3.967, when she and Jason behold each other; silence and speech remain integral to Medea's erotic experience. A particularly haunting moment in this narrative is 3.973–74, γνῶ δέ μιν Αἰσονίδης ἄτῃ ἔνι πεπτηυῖαν | θευμορίῃ ("Aeson's son realized that she had fallen victim to divine ruin"), where Jason is at once the viewer of Medea's hesitation and at the same time the reader of her erotic experience.

[126] Hunter 1987: 134.

The speaker of the opening lines of *Argonautica* 4 poses a question to his Muse, a question that is answered by the narrative of Book 4. At line 11, Hera sends an impulse of panic into Medea's heart, and she is compared to a deer terrified by the barking of hounds (lines 12–13), a simile typical of the Homeric battlefield.[127] The imagery of the following lines partly recalls the lyric mode of Book 3 but in this new context underline the inclination to epic. Ἐν δέ οἱ ὄσσε | πλῆτο πυρός, δεινὸν δὲ περιβρομέεσκον ἀκουαί ("her eyes were filled with fire within, her ears hummed dreadfully"), is at once a powerful echo of Sappho fragment 31.11–12, ὀππάτεσσι δ' οὐδὲν ὄρρημ', ἐπιρρόμ- | βεισι δ' ἀκουαί ("in my eyes there is no sight, my ears hum"),[128] and at the same time this comes in a catalogue of symptoms of Medea's fear of her father. Indeed several features of this short passage interweave lyric and epic elements, continuing the genre dichotomy posed by the poet's opening aporia. For example, line 17, ἀκουαί, exactly recalls Sappho's remarkable use of this word, yet δεινόν is markedly epic. And the *pathēmata* of Sappho's poem occur here in a third-person hexameter narrative that essentially appropriates a lyric recasting of epic experience (Andromache's realization of Hector's fate) back into epic.[129] This short passage is striking for another reason: it repeats, in almost summary fashion, the moments of Medea's erotic experience in Book 3: Medea's fear of discovery, her sense of isolation from other young girls, the option of suicide, and finally Hera's deflection of that option. Whereas, however, at 3.817–18 this deflection urges her to an erotic encounter (3.820–21, ἵνα οἱ θελκτήρια δοίη | φάρμακα συνθεσίῃσι καὶ ἀντήσειεν ἐς ὠπήν, "that she give him the enchanting drugs, as arranged, and meet him face to face"), here at the opening of *Argonautica* 4 the deflection urges her to a specifically marked heroic flight (22–23, εἰ μή μιν Φρίξοιο θεὰ σὺν παισὶ φέβεσθαι | ὦρσεν ἀτυζομένην, "if the goddess had not roused her, in her terrified confusion, to flee with the sons of Phrixus"). Medea's flight is figured here only in epic terms, with the sons (note the plural) of Phrixus. There is no mention here of Jason, her love, or the fleece. This shift from the singular and personal to the plural and familial is part of the same generic transition.

Medea's chest of drugs is an intriguing focal point in these parallel passages. At 3.802–9 her taking down this chest prefigures imminent death; her putting

[127] Virgil's comparison of Dido to a wounded deer (*Aen*. 4.68–73), while informed by other models, in part recalls the synthesis of lyric and epic at the opening of *Arg*. 4. On Hera's role in the *Argonautica*, cf. Campbell 1983: 50–56. Also implicated here may be lines 5–6 of the new Sappho poem (*P.Köln* Inv. Nr. 21351 + *P.Oxy*. 1787): βάρυς δέ μ' ὀ [θ]ῦμος πεπόηται, γόνα δ' [ο]ὐ φέροισι, | τὰ δή ποτα λαίψηρ' ἔον ὄρχησθ' ἴσα νερβρίοισι ("heavy has my spirit grown; my knees don't bear me up, which once were nimble as fawns in the dance"). On the simile at the opening of *Arg*. 4, see Hunter 1993a: 66.

[128] Cf. the commentary note on this line. Apollonius either is himself varying Sappho's text or knew an alternative reading. His awareness of textual issues in Sappho fr. 31 is paralleled in his choice of ἐάγη at 3.955, as I discuss below.

[129] Indeed one wonders whether line 18, πυκνὰ δέ . . . πυκνὰ δὲ, may not be meant to recall something of the iterative nature of the pathos of Sappho fr. 31.

it back symbolizes her resolve to live, a resolve brought about by Hera. Line 3.817, καὶ τὴν μέν ῥα πάλιν σφετέρων ἀποκάτθετο γούνων ("and from her knees she put it [*sc*. The chest] back"), deliberately parallels 804, ἐνθεμένη δ' ἐπὶ γούνατ' ὀδύρετο ("setting it [*sc*. the chest] on her knees she lamented"). At 4.24–25, again under the impulse of Hera (line 21), it is rather her choice of life that involves her taking the drugs from their resting place: μετὰ δ' ἥ γε παλίσσυτος ἀθρόα κόλπῳ | φάρμακα πάντ' ἄμυδις κατεχεύατο φωριαμοῖο ("afterwards all in a rush she poured all the drugs together in her lap from the coffer"). The box, like the lock of Medea's hair (4.26–33), is left behind. The separation of drugs from their coffer becomes a metaphor for the separation now of the magician from her paternal home. Hera first suggests consulting Medea (3.27) as she is πολυφάρμακον ("clever with drugs"); there is a consistent triad of Hera, Medea, and drugs.

The poet thereby chooses the epic manner of narrative, not the lyric. The Muse cannot initially be named because the poet who invokes her is uncertain about what the most important generic affinities of the following narrative will be. His Muse turns out to be Homer's, specifically the unnamed Muse of *Odyssey* 1.1. The poet phrases his uncertainty, though, in the language of both Homer and Sappho, and continues to interweave his two models into the text for some time.

Finally, it is worth noting the nature of the alternatives that the singer poses: *x* or *y*; then the choice is *y*. T. G. Rosenmeyer characterizes this as standard Homeric decision making.[130] Apollonius, in articulating his own generic dilemma at the opening of *Argonautica* 4, uses the very formula that his audience would recognize as a standard Homeric motif. In other words, he thus formally prefigures his ultimate choice of Homeric narrative, his choice of the heroic rather than the lyric mode.[131]

There are thus two Muses in the proems of *Argonautica* 3 and 4, both conceived as separate and generically distinct artistic impulses, juxtaposed here in Apollonius's refashioning of the epic language of Homer and the lyric language of Sappho. The invocation of the Muses (note the plural) at 4.552, ἀλλά, θεαί, πῶς τῆσδε παρὲξ ἁλός ("but, goddesses, how from beyond this sea . . . ?") has the effect of both returning to a traditional epic motif and of marking the Muses now as a collective entity—there is no longer a question of generic specification.[132]

Earlier commentators on these lines have seen the poet's aporetic stance as an introduction of a new, Apollonian cause for Medea's flight from Colchis, fear of her father, against a traditional motivation, her love of Jason.[133] My interpretation

[130] T. Rosenmeyer 1992: 177–78.

[131] See T. Rosenmeyer 1992: 183–84. Otherwise, as Rosenmeyer notes (ibid. 181–84), Apollonius uses this decision-making process only of secondary figures in the poem.

[132] Note Callim. fr. 7.19 = 9.19 Massimilla, κῶς δέ, θεαί, which also introduces an episode of the legend of the Argonauts.

[133] Fränkel 1968: 453; Vian 1996: 4; Hunter 1987: 135–37.

is not in opposition to this one; rather, it looks at the question differently—in both cases, lyric, epic, and their respective generic markers are at issue. And both interpretations see a juncture at the opening of *Argonautica* 4 where the poet breaks away from the erotically charged narrative of *Argonautica* 3; Eros, in *Argonautica* 4, appears in rather different tones: a bane, but an epic one (lines 445–49 being one unforgettable example).

The presence of two Muses in the proems of *Argonautica* 3 and 4 potentially casts a novel light on the final line of the proem to Book 1 (and to the whole poem): *Argonautica* 1.22, Μοῦσαι δ' ὑποφήτορες εἶεν ἀοιδῆς ("Muses be interpreters of my song"). With two Muses appearing in the subsequent proems (*Argonautica* 2, which continues Book 1, does not have one), there are now literally two subsequent inspired sources of utterance—or, to put it another way, ὑποφήτορες, "subsequent voices," to the singer of *Argonautica* 1 and 2. This interpretation may work especially well in light of lines 1.20–22:

> νῦν δ' ἄν ἐγὼ γενεήν τε καὶ οὔνομα μυθησαίμην
> ἡρώων, δολιχῆς τε πόρους ἁλός ὅσσα τ' ἔρεξαν
> πλαζόμενοι·

> Now I would tell of the birth and name of the heroes, and of the ways of the tricky sea, and what they did on their journey.

That is, I, the poet, will tell of the heroes and what they did on their outward journey—then the Muses will take up the strain.

POSTSCRIPT: MEDEA'S LOCK

> κύσσε δ' ἑόν τε λέχος καὶ δικλίδας ἀμφοτέρωθεν
> σταθμοὺς καὶ τοίχων ἐπαφήσατο· χερσί τε μακρόν
> ῥηξαμένη πλόκαμον, θαλάμῳ μνημήια μητρί
> κάλλιπε παρθενίης, ἀδινῇ δ' ὀλοφύρατο φωνῇ·
> "Τόνδε τοι ἀντ' ἐμέθεν ταναὸν πλόκον εἶμι λιποῦσα
> μῆτερ ἐμή· χαίροις δὲ καὶ ἄνδιχα πολλὸν ἰούσῃ·
> χαίροις Χαλκιόπη καὶ πᾶς δόμος. αἴθε σε πόντος
> ξεῖνε διέρραισεν πρὶν Κολχίδα γαῖαν ἱκέσθαι."
>
> (*Arg*. 4.26–33)

> She kissed her bed and the pillars on either side, and touched the walls. With her hands she severed a long lock, and left it in the room for her mother as a memento of her girlhood, and she lamented with loud voice: "I go leaving this long lock in my place, my mother, and farewell, though I go far away from you. Farewell, Chalciope and all my house. If only, stranger, the sea had dashed you to pieces before you came to the land of Colchis."

There is one more step before Medea's departure from the world of her girlhood for the world of heroes—her moving farewell to the female *oikos*, the

home, of her youth. The dedication of a lock of her hair has long drawn attention from scholars who have posited an intentional parallel with Callimachus's *Lock of Berenice*, particularly the lock left as memento for her mother, the image of substitution, and the final lament.[134] The picture is further complicated by Medea's self-justification to Arete at 4.1021–23:

> μὴ μὲν ἐγὼν ἐθέλουσα σὺν ἀνδράσιν ἀλλοδαποῖσι
> κεῖθεν ἀφωρμήθην· στυγερὸν δέ με τάρβος ἔπεισεν
> τῆσδε φυγῆς μνήσασθαι,
>
> Not willingly did I set out from there with foreign men, but a dreadful terror persuaded me to think of this flight.

In Medea's words to Arete, Apollonius has recast the true alternative he gave at the opening of *Argonautica* 4: love of one single man has (from modesty) been replaced by a desire to set out with a band of men. (And thus Medea gives rather two heroic alternatives.) But the opening words μὴ μὲν ἐγὼν ἐθέλουσα recall the lyric model, Sappho fragment 94, Ψάπφ', ἦ μάν c' ἀέκοις' ἀπυλιμπάνω ("Sappho, truly I leave you against my will"), as well as Callimachus's configuration of this line in *The Lock of Berenice* as we have it at Catullus 66.39–40: "invita, o regina, tuo de vertice cessi, | invita" ("unwillingly, Queen, I left your head, unwillingly").[135] Apollonius is very likely in part alluding to Callimachus's *Lock* here,[136] and at the same time to Sappho's lament of departure. The allusion is particularly effective, in that it is the allusion itself that evokes the missing alternative—that Medea was in love.

That Apollonius refers to the final (and celebrated) episode of Callimachus's *Aetia* in Book 4 of his *Argonautica* is not itself particularly surprising. The *Argonautica* has a layered intertextual relationship with the *Aetia,* and this includes a number of features involved with its structure. On the one hand, in both poems, the third and fourth books are closely bound together. The opening of *Argonautica* 3 highlights Jason's return to Iolcus; the opening of *Argonautica* 4, Medea's flight from Colchis. The second line of *Argonautica* 3 is, paradoxically, the final moment that is absent at the conclusion of *Argonautica* 4. The Argonauts arrive at the Greek mainland—and that is where the poetic narrator leaves them. On the other hand, in some ways there is also a contrasting structure: Callimachus's dialogues with two individualized Muses occur in *Aetia* 1 and 2; Apollonius's invocations to two individualized Muses appear in *Argonautica* 3 and 4. Their lyric models are also a part of this intertextual rapport. Simonides, for example, figures at the opening of *Argonautica* 1 (Orpheus's song: see further below in chapter 5) and early in *Aetia* 3 (fr. 64, *The Tomb of*

[134] Cf. Fantuzzi and Hunter 2004: 87 n. 179; Acosta-Hughes 2007.

[135] See below in chapter 2.

[136] See further Fantuzzi and Hunter 2004: 87 n. 176; Hunter 1995: 24–25.

Simonides). Sappho, a lyric model of Callimachus's lyric *Lock of Berenice* and of the lyric episode of the *Argonautica*, is part of this intertextual mosaic.

1.2.2. A Fire Burns Again: Medea and Sappho Fragment 31

Both Theocritus (in *Idyll* 2.82–92, 106–110) and Apollonius (in *Argonautica* 3.284–98, 962–65) rework Sappho fragment 31 (φαίνεταί μοι κῆνος) in their respective portrayals of a woman subject to anguished love. Both do so in such a way that the model is carefully and at length evoked twice in a framing of vision and resultant confused emotion, once in a context that bears more closely on Sappho, once in a context that shows more variation (although the two poets do this differently).[137] This parallel use of a lyric model has led to a lengthy scholarly discussion on the priority of one pair of passages over the other, part of a larger scholarship on this issue concerning these two poets and their works.[138] Although I will not reproduce that discussion here, comparison of the two treatments is beneficial, even inevitable, in considering Sappho's later reception. Two more or less contemporary male poets, one in urban mime, one in hexameter epic, reweave a lyric poem composed by a woman to portray female erotic suffering. Each, in the course of his reworking, signals his adherence to and variation from his female model. The opening of *Argonautica* 4, with a third recall of this famous poem (lines 16–17) complicates this picture,[139] as does the subsequent speech of Selene during Medea's nocturnal flight from Colchis. The narrative of Selene and Endymion may itself in turn derive in part from Sappho.[140]

The first reworking of Sappho's poem appears, appropriately, upon Medea's first beholding Jason (*Arg.* 3.275–98). The poet centers her erotic *pathēmata* between two similes. Since both similes are involved in the effect of the whole, I give the entire passage.[141]

[137] Privitera 1969: 71–72 on Apollonius; cf. Pretagostini 1984: 107 n. 5, 113–14; Bonanno's (1990: chap. 8) is the fullest comparative treatment. Callimachus is somewhat different: see the discussion of Acontius and Cydippe below in the epilogue to chapter 2.1.2, "'Unwillingly I left': History of a Lament."

[138] See Glei 2001: 22–23, with his judicious caveat on scholarly preoccupation with this issue; cf. Köhnken (2001: 83–92) in the same volume. Bonanno 1990 has made a strong argument, in the case of the imitations of Sappho fr. 31, for the priority of Apollonius (ibid. 164–66); her reading may find support in Simaitha's comparison of her pharmaceutical effectiveness to Medea's (Theocr. 2.15–16), which can be read metapoetically as a comparison of this poem to Apollonius's Medea—the same is of course true of Circe (line 15) and Homer's Circe. In Pindar *Pyth.* 4, Aphrodite uses an ἴυγξ to bring about the union of Jason and Medea (lines 213–17). This is omitted in Apollonius (Hunter 1993a: 60). Does Theocritus, by having Simaitha use a ἴυγξ, mean to allude to this Apollonian omission, in a manner similar to his rewrite of Apollonius's treatment of Heracles at the end of *Idyll* 13?

[139] Cf. Cusset 1999: 336.

[140] See further below in this chapter.

[141] The text, except for small orthographical details, follows Vian, but incorporates Hunter's (1989) reading at 294—where, note, the manuscript tradition has ἄγχι μάλ' †ἐργομένη.

Τόφρα δ᾽ Ἔρως πολιοῖο δι᾽ ἠέρος ἶξεν ἄφαντος,
τετρηχώς, οἷόν τε νέαις ἐπὶ φορβάσιν οἶστρος
τέλλεται, ὅν τε μύωπα βοῶν κλείουσι νομῆες.
ὦκα δ᾽ ὑπὸ φλιὴν προδόμῳ ἔνι τόξα τανύσσας
ἰοδόκης ἀβλῆτα πολύστονον ἐξέλετ᾽ ἰόν.
ἐκ δ᾽ ὅ γε καρπαλίμοισι λαθὼν ποσὶν οὐδὸν ἄμειψεν
ὀξέα δενδίλλων· αὐτῷ δ᾽ ὑπὸ βαιὸς ἐλυσθείς
Αἰσονίδῃ, γλυφίδας μέσσῃ ἐνικάτθετο νευρῇ,
ἰθὺς δ᾽ ἀμφοτέρῃσι διασχόμενος παλάμῃσιν
ἧκ᾽ ἐπὶ Μηδείῃ· τὴν δ᾽ ἀμφασίη λάβε θυμόν·
αὐτὸς δ᾽ ὑψορόφοιο παλιμπετὲς ἐκ μεγάροιο
καγχαλόων ἴιξε· βέλος δ᾽ ἐνεδαίετο κούρῃ
νέρθεν ὑπὸ κραδίῃ, φλογὶ εἴκελον. ἀντία δ᾽ αἰεί
βάλλεν ἐπ᾽ Αἰσονίδην ἀμαρύγματα, καί οἱ ἄηντο
στηθέων ἐκ πυκιναὶ καμάτῳ φρένες· οὐδέ τιν᾽ ἄλλην
μνῆστιν ἔχεν, γλυκερῇ δὲ κατείβετο θυμὸν ἀνίῃ·
ὡς δὲ γυνὴ μαλερῷ περὶ κάρφεα χεύετο δαλῷ
χερνῆτις, τῇ περ ταλασήια ἔργα μέμηλεν,
ὅς κεν ὑπωρόφιον νύκτωρ σέλας ἐντύναιτο,
ἄγχι μάλ᾽ ἐζομένη· τὸ δ᾽ ἀθέσφατον ἐξ ὀλίγοιο
δαλοῦ ἀνεγρόμενον σὺν κάρφεα πάντ᾽ ἀμαθύνει·
τοῖος ὑπὸ κραδίῃ εἰλυμένος αἴθετο λάθρῃ
οὖλος ἔρως, ἁπαλὰς δὲ μετετρωπᾶτο παρειὰς
ἐς χλόον, ἄλλοτ᾽ ἔρευθος, ἀκηδείῃσι νόοιο.

Meanwhile Eros came through the bright air, unperceived, aroused, as when a gadfly attacks the young heifers, the gadfly that the cowherds call the *myōps*. And swiftly drawing his bow, below the threshold in the forecourt, he chose out from his quiver an unused arrow, one that was to cause much lament. Thence, unobserved, he crossed the doorpost with swift foot, glancing around sharply. Crouched very small below Jason himself, he set the arrow's end upon the middle of the bowstring, and then drew straight back with both palms, and shot at Medea. Speechlessness seized her heart. Eros flying back up from the high-roofed chamber shot forth cackling, but the arrow burned in the girl, beneath her heart like a flame. Again and again she cast shining glances across at Jason, and from her breast her thick wits fluttered disturbed, nor had she any other memory, but her soul ebbed away in sweet pain. As a woman pours chips around a brand, a working woman, whose livelihood is in wool work, that she may have light in the darkness below her roof, as she sits very close by: from a little brand an astonishing flame leaps up, and consumes all the chips—so burned destructive *erōs*, a wound in secret below her heart, and turned her soft cheeks now to pallor, now to blushing, with the confused carelessness of her mind.

One way to look differently at this much analyzed passage is to consider it as a series of movements that transform a type of personal lyric expression, here the articulation of inner turmoil, into hexameter narrative. Two epic short passages (lines 268–74, 299–303) frame this one and set it off, as it were, in its generic complexity. Each of these consists of the business of epic domestic description: multiple servants, preparation for sacrifice, and bathing—indeed, Apollonius's subtle variations of Homeric type-scenes. The chiastic order of the figures of these two passages (Aeetes and servants, servants and Aeetes), public scenes, and public utterances frame the description of Medea's internal turmoil. Lines 275–98 play further on the dichotomy of Eros the god and *erōs* the emotional power; the passage from external force to internal *pathēma* is emblematized in Eros crouching below Jason (a truly epic touch; this is very much a warrior's shot) and *erōs* crouched below Medea's heart, with λαθὼν . . . αὐτῷ δ' ὑπὸ βαιὸς ἐλυσθείς (lines 280–81) echoed (verbally as well as thematically) in (line 296) ὑπὸ κραδίῃ εἰλυμένος . . . λάθρῃ.[142]

Line 281, αὐτῷ δ' ὑπὸ βαιὸς ἐλυσθείς, alludes to Archilochus fragment 191[143]

> τοῖος γὰρ φιλότητος ἔρως ὑπὸ καρδίην ἐλυσθεὶς
> πολλὴν κατ' ἀχλὺν ὀμμάτων ἔχευεν,
> κλέψας ἐκ σηθέων ἁπαλὰς φρένας.
>
> For so passionate love, crouched below the heart, poured a great mist over the eyes, stealing the gentle senses from the breast.

The Archilochus passage in turn recalls *Odyssey* 9.433,[144] λασίην ὑπὸ γαστέρ' ἐλυσθείς (Odysseus concealed below Polyphemus's ram). There is a particular effect in having an original heroic image, adapted to another genre, rendered back into epic. (That is, as elsewhere, Apollonius recalls both models.) Also of great interest to our treatment of Sappho fragment 31 is the way in which this brief Archilochus passage is dispersed across the treatment of Medea's erotic suffering: the image of the first line (ἔρως ὑπὸ καρδίην ἐλυσθεὶς) recurs at the opening and closing of the first of these Apollonian treatments (lines 281 and 296, αὐτῷ δ' ὑπὸ βαιὸς ἐλυσθείς and τοῖος ὑπὸ κραδίῃ εἰλυμένος αἴθετο λάθρῃ, but also at 3.962–63, ἐκ δ' ἄρα οἱ κραδίη στηθέων πέσεν, ὄμματα δ' αὖτως | ἤχλυσαν). Again, the model's *disiecta membra* can be found at different points of the later reading.[145]

The actual rendition of Sappho's φαίνεταί μοι κῆνος begins, as has been noted, with the phrase τὴν δ' ἀμφασίη λάβε θυμόν at line 284, but we can take the point further. Prior to this juncture, Medea has not spoken in the poem.[146]

[142] Cf. Bonnano 1990: 155.

[143] Degani 1977: 32; Bonanno 1990: 155.

[144] Bonanno 1990: 155 n. 26.

[145] On the passages of Archilochus and Apollonius, cf. also Degani 1977: 32.

[146] Cf. Cusset 1999: 334. On the inability of both Jason and Medea to speak in the poem, see also T. Rosenmeyer 1992: 189–90.

This is no heroic reaction that restrains earlier discourse,[147] but the heroic reaction that preludes great sorrow—the phrase τὴν δ' ἀμφασίη λάβε θυμόν can also be understood as an introit to imitation of Sappho's φαίνεταί μοι κῆνος in much the same way as Theocritus 2.83, τὸ δὲ κάλλος ἐτάκετο ("my beauty melted away"), functions.[148] At *Argonautica* 3.253, on first seeing Jason, Medea cries out: καί σφεας ὡς ἴδεν ἆσσον, ἀνίαχεν ("and as she saw them, she started to cry out"). This is not the same as speech. As Hunter well observes:[149] "At one level she is surprised to see her nephews again, at another her passion for Jason is foreshadowed." One might carry this a step further: ὡς ἴδεν recalls ὡς γὰρ ‹ἔc› c' ἴδω of Sappho fragment 31.7, and so prefigures the reappearance of this famous poem in Medea's subsequent (and more detailed) viewing of Jason at lines 287–98. Taking this into account, we have in fact four points in Apollonius's treatment of Medea's erotic psyche that recall Sappho's poem, a particularly vivid example of J. Will's "divided allusion."[150] Also σφεας—that is, Jason and the sons of Phrixus—will reappear in a different compositional setting (and generic marking) in Medea's decision to flee at the opening of *Argonautica* 4.

Lines 285–87 expand on this introit, juxtaposing the heroic ascension of Eros (note especially the verb αἴσσω, and also the typically heroic ὑψόροφον μέγαρον) and the girl's internal trauma, here the internalized βέλος, or *erōs*); also contrasted are external and open height with internal depth. The interweaving of elements of Sappho's poem continues, significantly, here with Sappho's inner fire (fr. 31.9–10, λέπτον | δ' αὔτικα χρῶι πῦρ ὐπαδεδρόμακεν, "a fine fire straightway runs below my skin") transformed into the brand that will burn in the following simile. Medea's glances at Jason are repeated (*Arg.* 3.287–88: ἀντία δ' αἰεί | βάλλεν ἐπ' Αἰσονίδην ἀμαρύγματα, "again and again she cast shining glances across at Jason opposite"). The word ἀμάρυγμα, does not occur in Homer, but it does occur at Sappho fragment 16.18, there of Anactoria.[151] (The mythical subject of that poem, Helen's love for Paris and her abandonment of her home and family, is a complex model for Apollonius's Medea).[152] Medea's vision of Jason leads to the fluttering of her mind (*Arg.* 3.288–89, καί οἱ ἄηντο | στηθέων ἐκ πυκιναὶ καμάτῳ φρένες, "and from her breast her thick wits fluttered disturbed"; cf. Sappho fr. 31.5–6, τό μ' ἦ μὰν | καρδίαν ἐν στήθεσιν

[147] Cf. *Il.* 17.695, where discovery of Patroclus's death results in speechlessness (ἀμφασία) overtaking Antilochus; so too *Od.* 4.705, where speechlessness (again ἀμφασία) comes upon Penelope on hearing that Telemachus has gone off in search of his father. In both cases (these are the only places where the word occurs in Homer) ἀμφασία accompanies great grief. In both, though, the figures overcome by speechlessness were earlier speaking figures in the narrative (and Penelope is shortly again thereafter). Cf. Bonanno 1990: 150–51.

[148] See my discussion earlier in this chapter.

[149] Hunter 1989: 126.

[150] Wills 1998: 280, 285.

[151] Sappho fr. 16.17–18: τᾶ]c ‹κ›ε βολλοίμαν ἔρατόν τε βᾶμα | κἀμάρυχμα λάμπρον ἴδην προσώπω, "I would see her lovely step and the radiant glance of her face."

[152] On Helen as model in *Arg.* 3 and 4, see Hunter 1993a: 67.

ἐπτόαισεν, "which makes the heart in my breast flutter"). As so often in his adaptation of a model, Apollonius both recalls and varies—Sappho's fluttering heart remains, with the phrasing of the image changed. Even the description of Medea's changing color at the end of the passage is framed in terms of Sappho's imagery.[153]

The comparison of Medea's love to the fire set by a poor woolworker at night is modeled in part on Homeric similes that set heroic and common figures side by side.[154] The final line of Sappho fragment 31 as preserved by the author of *Περὶ ὕψους* is ἀλλὰ πὰν τόλματον, ἐπεὶ †καὶ πένητα† ("but all must be borne, for even the poor man"). The citation is obviously corrupt; it is not clear what we should read. Further, the citation in *Περὶ ὕψους* ends here. There is no way of knowing what followed. Still, πένητα here may be worth pursuing. Sappho often juxtaposes the general experience (here of the "poor man") with the singer's detailed subjective experience. Consider fragment 102 in this context:[155]

> γλύκηα μᾶτερ, οὔ τοι δύναμαι κρέκην τὸν ἴστον
> πόθωι δάμεισα παῖδος βραδίναν δι' Ἀφροδίταν

Sweet mother, I cannot weave at my loom, for I am overcome with yearning for a girl [*or*: boy] through slender Aphrodite's doing.

The combination of overwhelming love and weaving here (as well as Aphrodite's agency, albeit conventional) is worth noting—there are many ways in which Sappho may have served as a model for the later singer of female love.

Apollonius evokes Sappho's celebrated poem again, significantly, on the second occasion of Medea's beholding Jason (*Arg*. 3.948–65). As is true of Simaitha in Theocritus's *Idyll* 2, the first view of the beloved occurs in a public milieu, the second in a private or semiprivate one—that is, in the absence of other male figures. And of female ones: Medea's maids withdraw on Jason's appearance (965–66, αἱ δ' ἄρα τείως | ἀμφίπολοι μάλα πᾶσαι ἀπὸ σφείων ἐλίασθεν, "her servants meanwhile all withdrew from them"). This moment of course replaces the flight of Nausicaa's servants, who are terrified by the sudden appearance of Odysseus at *Odyssey* 6.137–38. But it also, rather ingeniously, effects the union of Jason and Medea, now alone together and a pair (966, ἀπὸ σφείων, and 967: τώ).

The setting of this scene is modeled in many respects on the encounter of Nausicaa and Odysseus in *Odyssey* 6; Medea's reaction on perceiving Jason's approach is a careful recollection of Sappho. Here the introit begins a few lines

[153] *Arg*. 3.297–98: ἁπαλὰς δὲ μετετρωπᾶτο παρειάς | ἐς χλόον, ἄλλοτ' ἔρευθος, ἀκηδείῃσι νόοιο, "and turned her soft cheeks now to pallor, now to blushing, with the confused carelessness of her mind." The change of hue recalls both Sappho fr. 31.14, χλωροτέρα δὲ ποίας (as Cusset [1999: 335] observes) and the blush of Sappho's wedding poetry (e.g., fr. 105, ἐρεύθεται); both allusions are contextually haunting here.

[154] Hunter 1989: 130–31.

[155] As noted below in the appendix to chapter 2, though παῖδος in the second line is conventionally translated "boy," I prefer to leave the gender here open.

earlier. There is a similar moment of transition that underlines the use of both models (*Arg*. 3.948–55):

> Οὐδ' ἄρα Μηδείης θυμὸς τράπετ' ἄλλα νοῆσαι,
> μελπομένης περ ὅμως. Πᾶσαι δέ οἱ ἦν τιν' ἀθύροι
> μολπὴν, οὐκ ἐπὶ δηρὸν ἐφήνδανεν ἐψιάασθαι, 950
> ἀλλὰ μεταλλήγεσκεν ἀμήχανος· οὐδέ ποτ' ὄσσε
> ἀμφιλπόλων μεθ' ὅμιλον ἔχ' ἀτρέμας, ἐς δὲ κέλευθον
> τηλόσε παπταίνεσκε παρακλίνουσα παρειάς.
> Ἧ θαμὰ δὴ στηθέων ἐάγη κέαρ, ὁππότε δοῦπον
> ἢ ποδὸς ἢ ἀνέμοιο παραθρέξαντα δοάσσαι. 955
>
> Medea's heart did not turn to think of other things, though she was playing. And all, whichever game she played, could not give her pleasure to enjoy for long, but, helpless, she changed from one to another. Nor could she keep her eyes calmly among the gathering of her serving maids, but inclining her cheeks aside she kept glancing far off at the road. Frequently the heart in her breast was shattered, whenever she doubted whether the sound she heard rushing by was that of a footfall or the wind.

As in the earlier passage, the recall of Sappho fragment 31 is set against lines epic both in character, recalling and varying Nausicaa's play with her maids in *Odyssey* 6 (only here Medea, rather than their leader, is barely able to attend them), and in language (e.g., line 954, παπταίνεσκε.) Medea's external demonstration of emotion, portrayed in epic terms, is then juxtaposed to her internal turmoil at 3.955, ἦ θαμὰ δὴ στηθέων ἐάγη κέαρ, which resonantly evokes Sappho's poem in an interlacing of lines 5–6, τό μ' ἦ μὰν | καρδίαν ἐν στήθεσιν ἐπτόαισεν, and 9, ἀλλὰ †καμ† μὲν γλῶσσα †ἔαγε†. This recollection is both complex and problematic, as well as perhaps implicating another Sappho poem, the new poem from Book 4 of the Alexandrian edition.

In his 1961 Oxford Classical Text of the *Argonautica*, H. Fränkel obelizes the phrase στηθέων ἐάγη, but as Hunter observes in his commentary to this line, the imitations of Antipater of Sidon (64.16 GP, ἐν στέρνοις ἐάγη θυμόν) and Quintus of Smyrna (1.204 [of Priam], ὃ δ' ἄρ' ἄχνυτο θυμὸν ἐαγώς) strongly suggest that the form ἐάγη here is correct. Both Apollonius here and Theocritus at *Idyll* 2.110 in the homonymous ἐπάγην must have known at least the phrase γλῶσσα ἔαγε in this line of Sappho.[156] The problem of the hiatus there would remain, but that may have already entered the poem's tradition as the Alexandrians knew it.[157] Further, θαμά finds a striking parallel in the Sappho Tithonus

[156] We might be able to go one step further here: were we to assume with M. West (1970: 311) that we should read ἀλλὰ κἀμ μὲν γλῶσσα ἔαγε, λέπτον δ' at Sappho 31.9, we might point out that Apollonius's θαμὰ . . . ἐάγη even vaguely recalls the sounds of the compound (i.e., κἀμ recalled in θαμά). A somewhat fanciful point perhaps, but Apollonius's sense of Sappho's language is very fine. On Theocr. 2.110, see the discussion earlier in this chapter.

[157] M. West's suggestion (1970: 311) γλῶσσαν ἔαγα is still worth considering.

fragment at line 7, τὰ ‹μὲν› στεναχίσδω θαμέως· The circumstances are particularly intriguing. While Sappho is lamenting specifically her old age here, it is her separation from the company of young girls that finds a mirror image in Medea's state in Apollonius.

Medea's withdrawal from the company of her maids comes in stages. They first appear sleeping in the forecourt outside her chamber (*Arg.* 3.838–39). They then accompany her, two at her side, the rest behind her chariot, as she drives through the city. The simile that compares Medea to Artemis, while recalling that of Nausicaa compared to Artemis at *Odyssey* 6.100–109, is rather different.[158] Nausicaa plays among her maids as Artemis plays among her nymphs; she is easily recognizable in her stature; though all are beautiful. Medea goes before her attendants as Artemis goes before her nymphs. There is no suggestion that the attendants are in any way comparable. The meeting of Jason and Medea results in the withdrawal of her maids (as previously planned: *Arg.* 3.911); they remain apart (*Arg.* 3.1137–39),[159] and her reunion with them (*Arg.* 3.1149–52) is in body only. Her distracted mind is elsewhere.[160] By the time of her flight, she has come to fear them (*Arg.* 4.16, τάρβει δ' ἀμφιπόλους ἐπιίστορας, "she feared her maids, who knew of her actions"); the attractions of life among her agemates that flew before her eyes as she contemplated suicide earlier (*Arg.* 3.814) have vanished by the time she leaves her token lock of hair as a memento for her mother (*Arg.* 4.27–31).[161] Medea's journey from maiden to young (as if) married woman is now complete. It is hardly surprising that the figure of Sappho, whose extant poetry is replete with the imagery of the young bride on taking leave of her youthful home, family, and companions, should be perceived, even if opaquely, in these lines.

At *Argonautica* 3.956–59 Jason appears, likened to the destructive Dog Star of late summer; the simile recalls in particular *Iliad* 22.25–32. At one level, it marks the meeting of the two heroes in vividly Homeric terms of warfare. Yet Apollonius immediately juxtaposes to this heroic simile, as he did earlier, a

[158] There is an extensive scholarship on these two similes; seminal is Clausen 1987: 15–25. See Hunter 1989: 193–94.

[159] *Arg.* 3.1137–39, ἤδη δ' ἀμφίπολοι μὲν ὀπιπεύουσαι ἄπωθεν | σιγῇ ἀνιάζεσκον· ἐδεύετο δ' ἤματος ὥρη | ἄψ οἶκον δὲ νέεσθαι ἐὴν μετὰ μητέρα κούρην, "already her maids, gazing anxiously from afar, were silently distressed; for the hour had passed when the girl should have returned home to her mother."

[160] *Arg.* 3.1149–52: ἡ δὲ μετ' ἀμφιπόλους. Αἱ δὲ σχεδὸν ἀντεβόλησαν | πᾶσαι ὁμοῦ, τὰς δ' οὔ τι περιπλομένας ἐνόησε· | ψυχὴ γὰρ νεφέεσσι μεταχρονίη πεπότητο. | Αὐτομάτοις δὲ πόδεεσι θοῆς ἐπεβήσατ' ἀπήνης, "she [returned] to her maids; they surrounded her all together, but she didn't heed them at all, for her heart flew long among the clouds; her feet moving of their own accord, she ascended her chariot." Note the parallelism with Theocr. 2.83–85: οὐκέτι πομπᾶς | τήνας ἐφρασάμαν, οὐδ' ὡς πάλιν οἴκαδ' ἀπῆνθον | ἔγνων, "no more of that parade had I any thought; nor know I how I got home."

[161] There are obvious parallels with Callimachus's *Lock of Berenice*, where a lock is sacrificed by a daughter (Berenice II) and then borne to the lap of her mother (Arsinoe-Aphrodite). At the same time Medea's death to her family in her departure and the severing of the lock find a resonance in Dido's death at the end of *Aeneid* 4.

reworking of Sappho fragment 31, the second of two reworkings that attend Medea's gaze upon Jason. This recollection of Sappho precedes another simile that combines both heroic and lyric features (the latter especially of Sappho):

ὣς ἄρα τῇ καλὸς μὲν ἐπήλυθεν εἰσοράασθαι
Αἰσονίδης, κάματον δὲ δυσίμερον ὦρσε φαανθείς.
Ἐκ δ' ἄρα οἱ κραδίη στηθέων πέσεν, ὄμματα δ' αὔτως
ἤχλυσαν, θερμὸν δὲ παρηίδας εἶλεν ἔρευθος·
γούνατα δ' οὔτ' ὀπίσω οὔτε προπάροιθεν ἀεῖραι
ἔσθενεν, ἀλλ' ὑπένερθε πάγη πόδας.

So to her did Aeson's son appear fair to look upon, though by appearing he aroused unhappy passion that was torment. Her heart fell from her breast; her eyes were suddenly misted over; a warm blush seized her cheeks. No longer could her knees bear her either backward or forward, but her feet below her were stuck fast.

Apollonius has chosen certain features of Sappho's poem for this portrayal of Medea's stunned reaction on beholding Jason, not (importantly) the same that he used earlier. Sappho's poem imbues the whole of Medea's psychological and physical reaction to Jason's beauty, and so Sappho's poem resonates each time Medea perceives Jason.[162] There is a compositional subtlety in this second viewing; line 956, which opens the simile comparing Jason to Sirius, again casts Medea in the role of Sappho's singer:

Αὐτὰρ ὅ γ' οὐ μετὰ δηρὸν ἐελδομένῃ ἐφαάνθη,
ὑψόσ' ἀναθρῴσκων ἅ τε Σείριος Ὠκεανοῖο,

But he appeared, after no long time, to her who longed for him, as Sirius leaps high from Ocean.

That is: φαίνεταί μοι κῆνος ἴσος θέοισιν. Jason appears—and the use of φαίνω is hardly coincidental—to Medea (nor is she coincidentally in the dative) like Sirius: ἴσος θέοισιν. The simile, which on one level recalls *Iliad* 22.25–32 (Achilles as Sirius),[163] combines this fearsome image with Sappho's erotic reaction—the fearsome enemy as the object of desire.

Nor is φαίνω, now repeated in the logical conclusion of the simile, accidental at 960–61, ὣς ἄρα τῇ καλὸς μὲν ἐπήλυθεν εἰσοράασθαι | Αἰσονίδης, κάματον δὲ δυσίμερον ὦρσε φαανθείς, where Medea is again the viewer and the one overcome by desire. In line 961 the juxtaposition of heroic patronymic and the lyric coloring of δυσίμερον emphasizes again the union of two poetic types, while prefiguring the divide in the narrator's query at the opening of *Argonautica* 4.

Medea's symptoms here are largely those perceived from without, whereas those at 3.287–90 are perceived from within. Sappho's apparent death is con-

[162] Wills (1998: 278–86) is revealing here.

[163] Hunter 1989: 202–3.

joined with a vignette of the final moments of epic heroes: eyes overcome with mist, limbs unable to move—even ἐκ δ' ἄρα οἱ κραδίη στηθέων πέσεν comes oddly close to the extracorporeal Homeric soul leaving the body at death. At the same time, θερμὸν δὲ παρηίδας εἶλεν ἔρευθος is the quintessential symptom of a young girl's μελέδημα.[164]

Even the following simile, with its ingenious segue of Medea's transfixed limbs being compared to the roots of mountain trees, continues the synthesis of epic and lyric (*Arg.* 3.967–72):

> Τὼ δ' ἄνεῳ καὶ ἄναυδοι ἐφέστασαν ἀλλήλοισιν,
> ἢ δρυσὶν ἢ μακρῇσιν ἐειδόμενοι ἐλάτῃσιν,
> αἵ τε παρᾶσσον ἔκηλοι ἐν οὔρεσιν ἐρρίζωνται
> νηνεμίῃ, μετὰ δ' αὖτις ὑπὸ ῥιπῆς ἀνέμοιο
> κινύμεναι ὁμάδησαν ἀπείριτον· ὣς ἄρα τώ γε
> μέλλον ἅλις φθέγξασθαι ὑπὸ πνοιῇσιν Ἔρωτος.

> They stood in silence, speechless, opposite one another, like oaks or tall firs that, rooted close to one another in the mountains, are quiet when there is no wind, but then, moved by a wind's breeze, murmur together without end; so these two were on the verge of giving voice at length, from the breaths of Eros.

The comparison is a conventional epic simile,[165] specifically pointed at Odysseus's comparing Nausicaa to the Delian palm (*Od.* 6.160–69); but it may well also be meant, as Fränkel suggested,[166] to recall such an image as Sappho fragment 47, Ἔρος δ' ἐτίναξε ‹μοι› | φρένας, ὠς ἄνεμος κὰτ' ὄρος δρύσιν ἐμπέτων ("Love shook my mind like a wind falling down the mountain on oak trees"), whether precisely this image or one like it.[167] The moment of Medea's meeting Jason, from her play with her maids to the moment of her utterance, is a synthesis of models Homeric and Sapphic, Nausicaa and Sappho's tormented erotic psyche.

EPILOGUE: SELENE AND ENDYMION

> ut Triviam furtim sub Latmia saxa relegans
> dulcis amor gyro devocet aereo
>
> (Catull. 66.5–6)

> . . . how sweet love calls down Trivia in an airy whirl, casting her secretly below Latmian rocks.

[164] Cf. Sophocles, *Antigone* 783–84: ὅς [*sc.* Ἔρως] ἐν μαλακαῖς παρειαῖς | νεάνιδος ἐννυχεύεις, "Love, you set your nails on the cheeks of a young girl."

[165] Cf., e.g., *Il.* 12.132–34: ἔστασαν ὡς ὅτε τε δρύες οὔρεσιν ὑψικάρηνοι, | αἵ τ' ἄνεμον μίμνουσι καὶ ὑετὸν ἤματα πάντα, | ῥίζῃσιν μεγάλῃσι διηνεκέεσσ' ἀραρυῖαι, "they stood as tall oaks on the mountains, which withstand wind and rain all their days, keep whirling, secured by their great unending roots."

[166] Fränkel 1968: 409.

[167] This may also be the case at Theocr. 2.85, ἐξεσάλαξεν.

This is the first erotic image of Catullus's *Coma Berenices*, immediately preceding the longer self-presentation of the lock itself. The poem, as argued in the following chapter, has moments of strong influence from Sappho. Further, the narrative of Selene and Endymion is first attributed to Sappho (fr. 199) by a scholion to *Argonautica* 4.57–58. This is, for many reasons, an extraordinary passage, but I limit this discussion to a few features that echo the treatment of Medea's love and particularly the implication of Sappho in this treatment (*Arg.* 4.54–65):[168]

Τὴν δὲ νέον Τιτηνὶς ἀνερχομένη περάτηθεν
φοιταλέην ἐσιδοῦσα θεὰ ἐπερχήρατο Μήνη
ἁρπαλέως, καὶ τοῖα μετὰ φρεσὶν ᾗσιν ἔειπεν·
"Οὐκ ἄρ' ἐγὼ μούνη μετὰ Λάτμιον ἄντρον ἀλύσκω,
οὐδ' οἴη καλῷ περιδαίομαι Ἐνδυμίωνι.
Ἦ θαμὰ δὴ καὶ σεῖο κλύον δολίῃσιν ἀοιδαῖς
μηνσαμένη φιλότητος, ἵνα σκοτίῃ ἐνὶ νυκτί
φαρμάσσῃς εὔκηλος, ἅ τοι φίλα ἔργα τέτυκται.
Νῦν δὲ καὶ αὐτὴ δῆθεν ὁμοίης ἔμμορες ἄτης,
δῶκε δ' ἀνιηρόν τοι Ἰήσονα πῆμα γενέσθαι
δαίμων ἀλγινόεις. Ἀλλ' ἔρχεο, τέτλαθι δ' ἔμπης,
καὶ πινυτή περ ἐοῦσα, πολύστονον ἄλγος ἀείρειν."

Titan's daughter, on rising from the horizon, saw Medea as she went, and the goddess, the Moon, took great pleasure, and said to herself: "So not only I shun the Latmian rock, nor am I alone in raging for fair Endymion. Truly, frequently I heard you, with your tricky songs, remembering my love, that you might busy yourself in a dark night, unheeded, busy with your doings. But now you yourself finally share in this agony; a harsh god has given you Jason to be a source of suffering without remedy. Go now and learn, clever though you are, to endure pain, cause of much lament."

Medea's power to draw the Moon from her course is one of her prominent characteristics as a magician. As M. Fantuzzi has recently underlined, this is indeed among the first things we learn of her in the poem.[169] Hence the irony of the present situation. It would be expected that Medea, a woman in love, pray to the Moon,[170] but the Moon has rather been the object of Medea's earlier

[168] I follow Fantuzzi (2007: 91–93) in reading κλύον at line 59 rather than κύον preserved in nearly all the manuscripts. In line 60, μνησαμένη φιλότητος ("remembering my love") is striking; as elsewhere, μιμνήσκω can easily denote reference to a poem or performative occasion and thus have metapoetic force.

[169] *Arg.* 3.528–33. Medea is first characterized for her magical powers; this is prefigured at 3.251–52, where the poetic narrator underlines not that she is of marriageable age or beauty (a point well emphasized by Fantuzzi in his analysis of 3.528–33) but that she is priestess of Hecate.

[170] As observed by the scholion to Theocr. 2.10 (p. 271.7–10 Wendel): ἀλλὰ Σελάνα· Πίνδαρος [fr. 104 Maehler] φησιν ἐν τοῖς κεχορισμένοις τῶν Παρθενείων, ὅτι τῶν ἐραστῶν οἱ μὲν ἄνδρες

incantations. Selene's *erōs*, rather than Medea's, was the motif of prayer. Apollonius here underlines the irony with a certain authorial panache. Selene's taunt to Medea, νῦν δὲ καὶ αὐτὴ δῆθεν ὁμοίης ἔμμορες ἄτης ("but now you yourself have a share of like agony"), recalls the poet's address to Erato at the opening of *Argonautica* 3, σὺ γὰρ καὶ Κύπριδος αἶσαν | ἔμμορες ("for you too have a share of Cypris's lot"); Selene's address to Medea is the last moment of the detailed erotic narrative in the lyric path not taken. (In the following lines Medea joins the sons of Phrixus.) The two lines that regard partaking of Cypris qua ruin effectively bound the erotic narrative.[171] Medea's racing through the night streets is now the erotic equivalent of her onetime nocturnal magic practices (*Arg*. 4.50–53); her association with Selene is now similarly inverted, as the Moon herself notes in the last line of her address. The πολύστονον ἰόν from Eros's bow (*Arg*. 3.279) has now become the πολύστονον ἄλγος (*Arg*. 4.65).

The lines, especially 4.59–60, are replete with echoes of Sappho fragment 1, ἦ θαμὰ δὴ καὶ σεῖο, κλύον, δολίῃσιν ἀοιδαῖς μνησαμένη φιλότητος ("truly, frequently I heard you, with your tricky songs, remembering my love") and Sappho fragment 1.5–7, ἀλλ᾽ἀ τυίδ᾽ ἔλθ᾽, αἴ ποτα κἀτέρωτα | τὰc ἔμας αὔδας ἀίοισα πήλοι | ἔκλυες ("but come hither, if ever before you heard my voice from afar and listened"). Sappho's Aphrodite is δολόπλοκος, "wile-weaving" (line 2), as Medea is taken up with "tricky songs." Sappho's poem is an incantation; the first-person address here of Selene to Medea parallels Aphrodite's to Sappho in fragment 1. Medea's love story ends with recollection of Sappho fragment 1 and begins with recall of Sappho fragment 31. Simaitha's (the speaker of Theocritus, *Idyll* 2) begins with Sappho fragment 1 and then follows with a reconfiguration of Sappho fragment 31. The two poets clearly know each other's renditions of Sappho. It is no accident that Simaitha is a druggist, calls on Selene, and at line 14 compares herself to Medea.[172] Simaitha's choice of love or death over Delphis also parallels Medea's dilemma over Jason. The two poets know each other's poems, just as they know their common model.[173]

εὔχονται ‹παρ›εῖναιἭλιον, αἱ δὲ γυναῖκες Σελήνην, "Pindar says in the poems separate from the *Partheneia* that when in love men pray for the Sun to be at their side; women, the Moon." It is not clear what is meant by the men calling upon the sun. (As Fantuzzi [2007: 83] notes, no examples are known to us.) The scholion then continues with a discussion of Selene and Endymion, a passage of some interest as it cites Euripides, *Hippolytus Veiled* (*TGF* 491). Euripides' surviving *Hippolytus* is an example of a detailed portrait of the psyche of a woman in love. Further on this scholion, see Fantuzzi 2007: 83–84.

[171] The poet's denunciation of Eros at *Arg*. 4.445–49 is, like Virgil's apostrophe at *Aen*. 9.446–49, significantly parenthetical.

[172] While comparison of a poison's efficacy to that of Medea's may well be a topos (cf., e.g., Euphorion fr. 15 v. Gr.), there are too many points in common between Theocritus and Apollonius here for the parallels to be merely coincidental.

[173] Positing *Idyll* 2 as alluding to Apollonius's treatment of the narrative of Jason and Medea results in a third Theocritean poem (in addition to *Idylls* 13 and 22) intertwined with Apollonius's heroic epic.

1.2.3. The Female Erotic Gaze

ἡ δὲ νέον κρήνης ἀνεδύσετο καλλινάοιο
Νύμφη ἐφυδατίη. Τὸν δὲ σχεδὸν εἰσενόησε
κάλλεϊ καὶ γλυκερῇσιν ἐρευθόμενον χαρίτεσσι·
πρὸς γάρ οἱ διχόμηνις ἀπ᾽ αἰθέρος αὐγάζουσα
βάλλε σεληναίη. Τῆς δὲ φρένας ἐπτοίησε
Κύπρις, ἀμηχανίῃ δὲ μόγις συναγείρατο θυμόν.

(*Arg.* 1.1228–33)

Just now the Nymph of the fair-flowing spring rose up to the water's surface. She perceived Hylas nearby, blushingly radiant with beauty and sweet graces. For the full moon cast her rays upon him from heaven. Cypris caused her wits to flutter, and in her helplessness she could scarcely gather her senses together.

This earlier passage of the *Argonautica* prefigures in composite the more detailed erotic narrative of Book 3.[174] A female figure perceives male beauty, here by moonlight; her desire causes her mind to flutter, and only with difficulty can she compose herself.[175] Line 1232, τῆς δὲ φρένας ἐπτοίησε, in part recalls Sappho fragment 31.5–6, τό μ᾽ ἦ μὰν | καρδίαν ἐν στήθεσιν ἐπτόαισεν,[176] ("which causes the heart in my breast to flutter").[177] Hylas, here characterized as "blushingly radiant" with beauty and grace, is cast in the role of the object of female

[174] On ἐφυδατίη ("to the water's surface") in line 1229, see Vian's note *ad locum*.

[175] One might carry this line of reasoning a step further. Like Jason, Hylas sets out on a quest; a potentially dangerous female figure becomes enamored of him, and this leads to his destruction. Here the nymphs are in fact the ones celebrating Artemis in song (*Arg.* 1.1222–25). At *Arg.* 3.876–86, Medea and her maids are explicitly compared to Artemis and her nymphs—one might see this comparison as still present in their games at 3.948–51. Note that Medea at 3.951 is also ἀμήχανος.

[176] Good discussion in Cusset 1999: 333–34. As Cusset observes, Apollonius is at the same time using *Od.* 22.297–98 (Athena terrifying the suitors): δὴ τότ᾽ Ἀθηναίη φθισίμβροτον αἰγίδ᾽ ἀνέσχεν | ὑψόθεν ἐξ ὀροφῆς· τῶν δὲ φρένες ἐπτοίηθεν, "then Athena held up the man-destroying Aegis from the rafter on high; and their [*sc.* the suitors'] wits were confused." Cusset notes the exact *sedes* recalled in Apollonius. Again, one of the appeals that Sappho held for the Alexandrians was her rearticulation of Homeric motifs to a lyric setting—which Apollonius underlines here in his evocation of both. Another passage that prefigures the narrative of Jason and Medea is the Jason and Hypsipyle episode in Book 1 (see Hunter 1993: 47–52 passim), but it does so differently. On perceiving Jason, Hypsipyle's reaction is one of modesty (1.790–91, ἡ δ᾽ ἐγκλιδὸν ὅσσε βαλοῦσα | παρθενικὰς ἐρύθηνε παρηίδας, "casting her eyes aslant she blushed in her maiden cheeks"), not confusion. Though on her αἰδώς, cf. Sappho fr. 137.

[177] This line finds a parallel at Ap. Rh. fr. 12.6–7 Powell: ἡ γὰρ ἐπ᾽ Αἰακίδῃ κούρης φρένας ἐπτοίησεν | Πεισιδίκης, "for she [*sc.* Cypris] cast the girl Peisidice's wits in turmoil for Achilles." If we can assume that this fragment (from Parthenius 21; see Lightfoot 1999: 347–49, 496–504) is indeed from Apollonius's *Lesbou Ktisis*, Apollonius colors his Lesbian foundation poem with recall of a Lesbian poet's famous lines.

erotic attention,[178] a persistent leitmotif of Apollonius's poem: Hylas in the moonlight, Jason as he walks in his variegated cloak (*Arg.* 1.721–80, esp. 725–38, 774–80),[179] Jason as he approaches Medea (3.956–61), and finally Jason with the golden fleece (4.167–73). Jason's beauty in particular is framed in terms of a number of consistent features: the color red,[180] astral imagery,[181] the desire of young unmarried girls. There are many models at play here: Homeric warriors compared to celestial figures, contemporary interest in astronomy and in optics, among others; but the female erotic gaze and the female perception of another human being as the object of desire are of particular relevance to Apollonius and lyric. Here neither Homeric epic, with some exceptions,[182] nor the poetry of male concourse could have been an immediate source of artistic inspiration. One earlier model, however, is Alcman.[183] Another is Sappho, who provided Apollonius with a way of articulating female desire and whose extant poetry includes at least one simile that is an example of the kind of erotic simile Apollonius creates.[184] The loss of much of Sappho's wedding poetry frustrates us here. The Apollonian images of young girls in seclusion before marriage who gaze with longing at the stars find parallels even among the few wedding-song fragments of Sappho's that are extant.[185] Catullus's wedding poetry, which is clearly much indebted to Sappho, suggests that these parallels could have been far more.

[178] The juxtaposition of ἐρεύθος and the moon calls to mind Sappho's haunting βροδοδάκτυλος ‹σελάννα› "rose-fingered moon," fr. 96.8.

[179] While there are many models implicated in Jason's cloak, Sappho fr. 54, Eros in a purple cloak, is well worth keeping in mind.

[180] Consistent in all but one of these passages: 1.725–28, τῆς μὲν ῥηίτερόν κεν ἐς ἠέλιον ἀνιόντα | ὄσσε βάλοις ἢ κεῖνο μεταβλέψειας ἔρευθος· | δὴ γάρ τοι μέσση μὲν ἐρευθήεσσα τέτυκτο, | ἄκρα δὲ πορφυρέη πάντῃ πέλεν, "more easily might you cast your eyes on the rising sun than turn them upon that redness: for the center was fashioned all red, and the border all with purple"; 4.170–73, ὣς τότ' Ἰήσων | γηθόσυνος μέγα κῶας ἑαῖς ἐναείρετο χερσί, | καί οἱ ἐπὶ ξανθῇσι παρηίσιν ἠδὲ μετώπῳ | μαρμαρυγῇ ληνέων φλογὶ εἴκελον ἵζεν ἔρευθος, "so then Jason, rejoicing, raised up the fleece with his hands, and on his golden cheeks and his brow there rested a red like the shining flame of the fleece." The exception is the comparison of Jason to Sirius at 3.956–62. Here ἔρευθος is transferred instead to Medea's face at 963.

[181] At 1.774 he is compared to a shining star; at 3.956–61 he is likened to Sirius rising from Ocean.

[182] On Nausicaa, see Hunter 1993a: 46–47; her reaction to Odysseus's beauty at *Od.* 6.239–46 is a measured one.

[183] E.g., *PMGF* 1.39–43, ἐγὼν δ' ἀείδω | Ἀγιδῶς τὸ φῶς· ὁρῶ | ϝ' ὥτ' ἄλιον, ὄνπερ ἅμιν | Ἀγιδὼ μαρτύρεται | φαίνην, "I sing of Agido's brightness; I see her as the sun, which Agido calls to shine upon us."

[184] Cf. fr. 96.6–11: νῦν δὲ Λύδαισιν ἐμπρέπεται γυναί- | κεσσιν ὥς ποτ' ἀελίω | δύντος ἀ βροδοδάκτυλος ‹σελάννα› | πάντα περ‹ρ›έχοις' ἄστρα· φάος δ' ἐπι- | σχει θάλασσαν ἐπ' ἀλμύραν | ἴσως καὶ πολυανθέμοις ἀρούραις· | ἀ δ' ‹ἐ›έρσα κάλα κέχυται, τεθά- | λαισι δὲ βρόδα κἄπαλ' ἄν- | θρυσκα καὶ μελίλωτος ἀνθεμώδης, "now among the Lydian women she is resplendent as the rosy-fingered moon surpasses all stars when the sun sets: its light goes equally over the salt sea and the many-flowered fields; beautiful dew is shed; roses bloom, and delightful chervil, and flowering sweet clover."

[185] Cf. frr. 104a and b.

CHAPTER 2

Lyric into Elegy

SAPPHO AGAIN

Theocritus and Apollonius both provide examples of hexameter adaptation of Sappho. A poet who herself extensively reconfigured epic imagery into lyric comes in her turn to be recast into hexameter, the meter of epic. Sappho's rapport with later elegiac poetry, the subject of this chapter, is a rich and varied tradition. This rapport is further implicated in elegy's assumption of many of the conventions of Archaic lyric, among them the developed first-person persona of the singer, the *I* of lyric. As the poetic genre that comes to be the conventional medium of love poetry, elegy further turns to lyric for thematic and lexical models, especially to Sappho.

2.1. In the Lap of Arsinoe: Sappho and Callimachus

The Roman poet Catullus, writing in the first century BCE, rarely mentions earlier poets by name, yet he not only names Sappho and Callimachus;[1] he translates a poem of each into Latin by preceding each by a poetic epistle that itself serves as a reading of his poetic model.[2] Catullus 51 is in Sapphic stanzas (the meter of Sappho fr. 31); Catullus 66 is in elegiac couplets, as is the Callimachean original. The name Lesbia throughout Catullus's oeuvre marks his association with Sappho. (Compare Propertius's Cynthia or Tibullus's Delia, which rather allude to Apollo.) Catullus rarely evokes earlier poets by name; Sappho and Callimachus are notable exceptions. The learned Roman reader would therefore have associated Catullus and Callimachus; but would the same reader have made the association of Callimachus and Sappho? Very possibly. The opening poem of his polymetrics, "Cui dono lepidum novum libellum," Callimachean in theme and imagery, is also in phalaecians—a meter closely associated with Sappho. If Callimachus fragment 392, which appears to treat the

[1] He also names Simonides at Catull. 38.8: "maestius lacrimis Simonideis," "sadder than the tears of Simonides." Antimachus at Catull. 95^{b}2, "at populus tumido gaudeat Antimacho," "and let the people rejoice in bloated Antimachus" is a different case, as this line appears itself to be a Callimachean echo.

[2] I assume Catull. 50 ("Hesterno, Licini, die otiose") to have the same relationship to Catull. 51 as Catull. 65 does to Catull. 66; see also Wray 2001: 95–98.

marriage of Arsinoe II, is an epithalamium, then all three poets wrote wedding songs.[3] However close the metrical and generic connections, the question that I ask here is one of interauthorial reading.[4] To what extent might Catullus be reading Sappho through Callimachus: that is, through Callimachus's reading of Sappho? Catullus shares with Callimachus a vivid interest in female perspective.[5] This is indeed one of their most striking connections. To what extent does Catullus self-consciously reflect on the earlier male poet's adaptation of a female voice? Given the scarcity of prior female poetic voices, and the prominence of Sappho in earlier Greek writing, it is hardly surprising that both Callimachus and Catullus would turn to the seventh-century poet of Lesbos as a model for their adaptations of lyric.[6]

2.1.1. The Lock of Berenice

One fragmentary poem of Callimachus, *The Lock of Berenice* (fr. 110), contains a passage that may be especially illustrative of such levels of reading. The poem, a celebration of royal conjugal love, takes the form of a lyric lament of separation and longing. In its narrative style, its occasional nature, and its conceit of personal recollection, *The Lock of Berenice* is a remarkable example of elegiac appropriation of lyric, and one that, unsurprisingly, evinces lyric models and especially close association with Sappho.[7] One passage is particularly evocative of Sappho's influence—the lock's journey from the shrine at Zephyrium to the now deified Arsinoe, here identified, as in her cult at Zephyrium, as Aphrodite (Callim. fr. 110.51–58):[8]

ἄρτι [ν]εότμητόν με κόμαι ποθέεσκον ἀδε[λφεαί,
καὶ πρόκατε γνωτὸς Μέμνονος Αἰθίοπος

[3] Ἀρσινόης ὦ ξεῖνε γάμον καταβάλλομ' ἀείδειν, "I strike up to sing, friend, of Arsinoe's wedding"; see D'Alessio 1996: 694 n. 36.

[4] What Wills (1998: 284) terms "double reference"; Catullus is reading both Sappho and Callimachus's Sappho: i.e., an Archaic poet comes to be known not only through later work of compilation and edition but also through later poetic interpretation.

[5] See Gutzwiller 1992, esp. 374–75.

[6] Ovid twice juxtaposes Callimachus and Sappho, and in both cases this juxtaposition includes Anacreon: *AA* 3.329–32, *RA* 759–62. Though these texts are quite different from Catullus's, given what Catullus is doing with the two poets. Still, the association of Callimachus with Sappho is noteworthy.

[7] On the lyric character of the lock's narrative, see Koenen 1993: 96. Here I discuss only one passage of the Greek text, but there are several strong echoes of Sappho elsewhere in the Catullan version: e.g., line 25, "sensibus ereptis mens excidit" (cf. Catull. 51.6, "omnis | eripit sensus"), on which see Marinone 1997: 110.

[8] S. West (1985b: 62–63), followed by Koenen (1993: 100–101 n. 184), suggests an initial seaward rather than skyward journey of Zephyrus. Lines 63–64, [ὕδασι] λουόμενόν με παρ' ἀθ̣ά[νατους ἀνίοντα | Κύπρι]ς ἐν ἀρχαίοις ἄστρον [ἔθηκε νέον], "washed in the waters as I rose to the immortals, Cypris placed me a new star among ancient ones," may support this reading. Selden's 1998

ἴετο κυκλώσας βαλιὰ πτερὰ θῆλυς ἀήτης,
ἵ̣ππ̣ο[ς] ἰοζώνου Λοκρικὸς Ἀρσινόης
ἅ̣[λ]ασε̣ δὲ πνοιῇ με, δι᾽ ἠέρα δ᾽ ὑγρὸν ἐνείκας 55
Κύπρ]ιδος εἰς κόλ̣ πους ἔθηκε
αὐτή̣ μιν Ζεφυρῖτις ἐπὶ χρέο[ς
. . . . Κ]ανωπίτου ναιέτις α[ἰγιαλοῦ.

My sister hairs were longing for me, just now cut, and suddenly Ethiopian Memnon's twin came rushing, circling his dappled wings, a fertile breeze, the Locrian horse of violet-girdled Arsinoe; with a breath he bore me, and carrying me through the wet ether he set me . . . in Aphrodite's lap. Him for this purpose Zephyritis . . . who inhabits the Canopian shore . . .

With the narrative of its journey, the lock essentially creates a new beginning at line 51, which is typical of the disjunctive lyric narrative style of the poem. The lock, newly severed (ἄρτι [ν]εότμητον), is the object of the choral lament of its sister hairs: κόμαι ποθέεσκον ἀδε[λφεαί. Two features of this line might immediately point an educated audience to Sappho: the plural female chorus (and its incidental inclusion in the dialogic relationship of speaker and addressee) and the erotically tinged ποθέεσκον. For πόθος is the signal term of erotic longing in Sappho's poetry.[9] The line not only suggests separation from a chorus of female voices but also evokes erotic longing.

Arsinoe is characterized here as ἰοζώνου, one of several remarkable epithets in these lines. Note the emphatic placement at the caesura of the pentameter, which effects a passage at once markedly erotic and distinctly female. The term ἰοζώνος is unusual. It appears to have been coined by Callimachus as an amalgamation of two models: ἰόκολπος of Sappho and πορφυρόζωνος of Bacchylides.[10] Ἰόκολπος occurs only in Sappho—its occurrence (inter alia) in the new

reading of this poem in light of Egyptian pharaonic catasterism imagery provides especially illuminating parallels: e.g., (p. 340) the nascent star emerges from the ocean. My reading of these lines is only tangentially affected by this discussion.

For the reading Λοκρικός in line 54, see Marinone's detailed discussion (1997: 152–57). It's worth noting that, in addition to the attractive chiasmus that this text offers, the prevalence of epithets in these lines figures one epithet (not multiple epithets) per noun.

Marinone (1997: 68) retains Ardizzoni's (1975, 1978) conjectured text for the end of line 56 (as does Koenen 1993: 100 n. 184), θῆκεν ἄφαρ καθαρούς; while this conjecture would render Catullus's (66.56) "casto collocat," there may be reason to hesitate to inscribe it into the text. Bing 1997 presents an excellent case on the dangers of reconstructing Callimachus's fragmentary text based on the Catullan adaptation. The clear parallel of Catull. 65.20, "casto . . . e gremio," suggests that Catullus is himself highlighting this phrase: a gesture to his own innovation with "casto"?

[9] See Burnett 1979: 24.

[10] Sappho frr. 21.13, ̣τὰν ἰόκολπον; 30.4–5, [νύμ] | φας ἰοκόλπω; 103.3,]τ̣α παῖδα Κ̣ρ̣ο̣νίδα τὰν ἰόκ[ολπ]ον [; 103.4,] . ς ὄργαν θεμένα τὰν ἰόκ[ολ]π̣ος α[; the epithet also occurs in the new Sappho fragment (see discussion below in this chapter); Bacchylides 11.48–49, ἐς τέμενος | πορφυροζώνοιο θεᾶς. Pfeiffer in his commentary to fr. 110.54, ἰοζώνου, notes the Sappho parallels, but without

Sappho fragment (line 1 of the Tithonus poem, ἰ]ǫκ[ό]λπων) immediately identifies this poem as Sappho or an imitation of her. Other poets use compounds with ἰο-: Bacchylides fragment 9.3, Μουσᾶν γε ἰοβλεφάρων ("of the violet-lidded Muses"); Simonides fragment 555.3 *PMG* (of the Pleiades), ἑπτὰ ἰοπλοκάμων φιλᾶν θυγατρῶν | τάνδ' ἔξοχον εἶδος ("outstanding in beauty [*sc.* Maia] of Atlas's seven violet-haired daughters"). Pindar has both ἰοπλόκαμος (of the Muses at *Pyth*. 1.1) and ἰόπλοκος (of the Muses again at *Isth*. 7.23). But ἰόκολπος is Sappho's and hers alone.

Most occurrences of the term ἰόκολπος in Sappho appear in erotic contexts; two (frr. 103.3, 103.4) apparently of Aphrodite, which would be especially apt in the lock's lament, where Arsinoe is identified as Aphrodite.[11] Πορφυρόζωνος in the Bacchylides poem refers to Hera, but Pfeiffer (in his commentary note to Callim. fr. 110.54) is right to note that the ζώνη, "girdle," of Hera is usually a gift from Aphrodite (as at *Il*. 14.181; the term Homer uses of the gift itself at 14.214–15 is ἱμάς). Callimachus marks his own creation by placing κόλπους two lines later and in the same position before the caesura. The reader is thus reminded of both the original and the variation.

This passage further offers several definitions, and we remember that this is the high point, the apotheosis, in a poem concerned with the definition of a star. (Note line 1, πάντα τὸν ἐν γραμμαῖσιν ἰδὼν ὅρον, "on seeing all the sky in traced lines.") So Ethiopian Memnon's twin turns out to be Zephyrus; Arsinoe herself, Cypris and Zephyritis; the horse(man), the fertile breeze. Arsinoe *iozōnos* in fact refers to the lap of Aphrodite.

Traditionally ἰόκολπος is rendered into English as though a reference to clothing; hence "violet-robed" (Campbell 1982). With "flower-bosomed," M. L. West (1993) transfers the image to the body itself. L. MacKinnon renders it "fragrant-breasted."[12] Carson's (2002) "with violets in her lap" nicely captures something of the implicit sexuality of the image.[13] Thus an epithet such as ἰόκολπος need not always be explicitly sexual. Rather, there is a range of expressions and, therefore, the possibility of a variety of them in imitation. Violets, ἴα, appear in one of Sappho's more vividly charged sensual poems, fragment 94, which bears a number of compelling similarities to Callimachus's *Lock of Berenice*, and which, I will argue, is one of that poem's lyric models. Both the lyric

comment; see also Marinone 1997: 157. Another fragment worth noting here is Alc. fr. 384. Though the authorship is in question, Hephaestion gives the citation in the discussion of a meter called the Alcaic twelve-syllable. Voigt, following Maas, gives this as ἰόπλοκ' ἄγνα μελλιχόμειδες ἄπφοι, "violet-haired sweetly smiling darling." Other editors, among them Campbell 1990 (though reservedly) read ἰόπλοκ' ἄγνα μελλιχόμειδε Σάπφοι, "violet-haired sweetly smiling Sappho." In the extant fragments of Sappho, however, her name is always written Ψαπφ-; cf. frr. 1.20, 65.5, 94.5, 133.2.

[11] Cf. also Solon fr. 11.4 Gentili-Prato, Κύπρις ἰοστέφανος.

[12] In his translation of the new Sappho fragment, *TLS* 13 July 2005. In their translation of *P.Köln* Inv. Nr. 21351, line 9, the editors render "purpurgegürteten."

[13] On Sappho's sexual imagery, see Winkler 1996: 102–9.

character of *The Lock of Berenice* and, more specifically, the similarity of its pathos to that of Sappho's poems of separation have been frequently noted in the criticism of this Callimachus poem.[14] A close comparative reading of the two laments is illuminating.[15]

τεθνάκην δ' ἀδόλως θέλω·
ἄ με ψιcδομένα κατελίμπανεν
‹—›
πόλλα καὶ τόδ' ἔειπέ̣ [μοι
ὥιμ' ὡc δεῖνα πεπ[όνθ]αμεν,
Ψάπφ', ἦ μάν c' ἀέκοιc' ἀπυλιμπάνω.
—
τὰν δ' ἔγω τάδ' ἀμειβόμαν·
χαίροιc' ἔρχεο κἄμεθεν
μέμναιc', οἶcθα γὰρ ὥc ‹c›ε πεδήπομεν·
—
αἰ δὲ μη, ἀλλά c' ἔγω θέλω
ὄμναιcαι [. . . (.)].[. . (.)] ε̣αι
ὀ̣c̣[± *10*] καὶ κάλ' ἐπάcχομεν
—
πό̣[λλοις γὰρ cτεφάν]οις ἴων
καὶ βρ[όδων. . .]κίων τ' ὔμοι
κα. . [± *7*] πὰρ ἔμοι π‹ε›ρεθήκα‹ο›
—
καὶ πό̣[λλαις ὑπα⌋θύμιδας
πλέκ⌊ταις ἀμφ' ἀ⌋πάλαι δέραι
ἀνθέων ἐ̣[± *6*] πεποημέναις
‹—›
καὶ π. . . . . [ ]. μύρωι
βρενθείωι . [ ]ρ̣υ[. .]ν
ἐξαλ‹ε̣›ίψαο κ̣α̣[ὶ ⌊βας⌋]ι̣ληίωι
‹—›
καὶ cτρώμν[αν ἐ]πὶ μολθάκαν
ἀπάλαν παρ[ ]ο̣ν̣ων
ἐξίηc πόθο̣[ν]. νίδων
‹—›

[14] On the lyric character of fr. 110, see Koenen 1993: 96; Selden (1998: 326) cites Foscolo's appreciation. On the similarity of the lock's lament to Sappho, see Fantuzzi and Hunter 2002: 87; Gutzwiller 1992: 375. Gutzwiller further notes the parallelism of Callim. fr. 110 and Erinna's *Distaff* (fr. 4 Neri = *SH* 401) in both occasion and pathos (ibid. 376). One might ask to what extent Callimachus may implicate both poets here. On Erinna's *Distaff* and Sappho fr. 94, see especially Rauk 1989.

[15] In line 3, I follow Robbins (1990: 116–17) in taking πόλλα with καὶ τόδε as object of ἔειπε.

κωὔτε τις[οὔ]τ̣ε̣ τι
ἶρον οὐδ' ὐ[ ]
ἔπλετ' ὄππ̣[οθεν ἄμ]μες ἀπέσκομεν, 26
‹—›
οὐκ ἄλcoc. [ ]. poc
]ψοφοc
]. . . οιδιαι 29

"I just want to die." Weeping she left me; she said many things, and this. "Alas, what we've been through, Sappho. Truly, I leave you against my will." And I answered her: "Farewell; go, and remember me, for you know how we care for you. And if not, I want to remind you (. . .) and the lovely things we had together. For with many garlands of violets and roses (. . .) at my side you put on, and with many woven necklaces about your tender neck and (. . .) with lovely perfume, queenly, you anointed yourself, and on soft beds, tender (. . .) you released your desire (. . .) and no (. . .) nor shrine nor (. . .) was there where we were apart, nor grove (. . .) sound . . .

I begin with a short reading of the poem with an eye to the points of contact with Callimachus's *Lock of Berenice*. Sappho's poem as we have it encompasses the departure of one female figure from another, lament and tragic exclamation (it's not clear who speaks the first line),[16] memory of time spent together with imagery of flowers and perfume (both may, to follow Winkler, be read as in part sexual metaphors), and some recollection of sexual intimacy (lines 21–23 in particular). Line 5, the speaker's unwilling departure, Ψάπφ', ἦ μάν c' ἀέκοιc' ἀπυλιμπάνω, is especially significant when read against Catullus 66.39–40: "invita, o regina, tuo de vertice cessi, | invita." (The Callimachean original of this line does not survive.)[17] With this reading in mind, let's compare Callimachus's poem, first in general outline. The lament of the lock is a lament for the departure of one agent of ambiguous gender from a female figure (or, in another sense, figures, for the lock laments its departure both from the queen and from the chorus of its sister hairs). The gender ambiguity is at once central yet evanescent.

On the one hand, the lock, πλόκαμοc (lines 47, 62) and βόcτρυχοc (line 8) in Callimachus's text, is syntactically masculine. Its role in an aria of erotic longing for its former mistress makes it a stand-in for her absent husband. Indeed, the lock's knowledge of the marital relation is a reading of the absent warrior-king's experience of his queen on his wedding night. And the dedication of the lock

[16] Campbell (1990 *ad loc*., reservedly) and Page (1955: 82 n. 2, emphatically) assign this line to Sappho; see also Stehle (1997: 307) following Robbins (1990: 114–18). Burnett (1979: 23), followed by Greene (1996: 239–40), favors assigning it to the female figure of Sappho's recollection. But cf. now Ferrari 2007: 131–32.

[17] See Vox 2000: 178.

for the husband, the departure of the lock, and the husband's subsequent return make the lock an obvious stand-in for the royal groom.

But there is another aspect. Sappho's line 51, ἄρτι [ν]εότμητόν με κόμαι ποθέεσκον ἀδε[λφεαί, lends itself to two interpretations. In one, since the lock is masculine, hence brother to its sister hairs, its departure is lamented by them as that of Ptolemy is by Berenice. The relationship of brother to sisters, furthermore, would reflect the sibling iconography of the Ptolemaic rulers. Or, alternatively, the lock is of one being with its sister hairs; hence it can be understood as feminine, as is much of its experience.[18] The lock's apotheosis is emblematic of queenly apotheoses (e.g., that of Arsinoe in Callim. fr. 228) and prefigures, synecdochically, the future (expected) apotheosis of Berenice II herself. And in this sense Catullus's rendition "coma" for βόστρυχος only seems a change of gender. The possibility for this shift is already present in Callimachus's text.[19]

Another ambiguity of gender appears in the same passage. The winged horse(man), Zephyrus, figured as the brother of Ethiopian Memnon (line 52), is at the same time the θῆλυς ἀήτης of line 53. While the adjective θῆλυς can be taken metaphorically for "fertile," the literal reading, "female," still remains in the mind of the audience.[20] Θῆλυς is used of the sexually ambivalent appearance of very young men.[21] Here θῆλυς characterizes the young horse(man) Zephyrus and the wind of which he is the avatar.[22] Ἐλαύνω here used with the winged horse(man), and the agent and the speaking voice, here the lock, as the object, is also an arresting structure. The suggestion that this heavenward journey of Berenice's lock recalls the apotheosis of Arsinoe II (Callim. fr. 228) and Berenice I (Theocr. 15.107–9, 17.46–52) draws support from other passages

[18] Well put by Vox 2000: 177.

[19] The bibliography on this issue is extensive. For one particularly nuanced reading, see Barchiesi (1997: 215 n. 8), who underlines the parallel of the lock, separated from its sisters, sacrificed by a sister for her departed (and hence severed?) brother. Cf. Catullus's phrasing (66.21–22): "et tu non orbum luxti deserta cubile, | sed fratris cari flebile discidium!" (Intriguing that "discidium" can be read as metaphorically prefiguring the severing of the lock from its mistress's head.) Among scholars who give greater emphasis to the lock's masculine gender in Callimachus's text is Koenen (1993: 94–95); among those who give greater emphasis to the lock's feminine perspective are Gutzwiller (1992: 374) and Puelma (1982: 240). Cf. Fantuzzi and Hunter 2002: 87 n. 176; and especially Vox 2000.

[20] So the scholion to this line: θῆλυς δὲ ἀήτ(ης) δ]ιὰ τὸ γόνιμον π]νοῦς ἁπαλός, "θῆλυς, breeze: because of its fertility its breath is gentle." Cf. Callim. fr. 548 (of the Nile), θηλύτατον πεδίον, "most fertile plain."

[21] So Theocr. 16.49 (of Cycnus), θῆλυν ἀπὸ χροιᾶς Κύκνον ἔγνω, "would know Cycnus from his soft skin."

[22] The standard representation of Zephyrus is as a winged young man. Zwierlein (1987: 284–90) suggests that Zephyrus is represented as a horse here metaphorically for his role in bearing Arsinoe. Ἵππος, a noun that can be of either gender, often in the context of Ptolemaic queens (e.g., the *hippika* of the new Posidippus papyrus) designates mares. Perhaps we have a further gender complication in this passage?

that celebrate the queen's divinity. A part of this divinity (and association with Aphrodite) is the celebration of the queen's sexuality.[23] Callimachus fragment 110.51–58 is a powerfully erotic passage.[24]

The lock remembers its earlier time with the young Berenice, which includes (here with the lock as witness) sexual intimacy (as we have this in Catullus's rendition, lines 19–20: "id mea me multis docuit regina querellis | invisente novo proelia torva viro," "the queen taught me this with her many laments, as her new husband set out for grim battles") and, notably, perfume (Callim. fr. 110.77–78, παρ[θ]ενίη μὲν ὅτ' ἦν ἔτι, πολλ⌞ὰ πέ⌟πωκα | λι⌞τ⌟ά, γυναικείων δ' οὐκ ἀπέλαυσα μύρων, "when she was yet a virgin, I drank many inexpensive unguents, and did not enjoy the perfumes of married women"). That the perfume of Sappho's poem is fit for a queen receives a nice inversion in Callimachus, where it is inexpensive, though nonetheless on a head that is to be royal and is not yet a married woman's. Nor, it would seem, is the perfume of Sappho's poem.[25] And Callimachus's poem ends, of course, with an unrealizable and even pathetic wish (ca. lines 93–94, rendered in Catull. 66.93–94 "sidera cur iterent, 'utinam coma regia fiam.' | proximus Hydrochoi fulgeret Oarion," "for the stars to repeat, 'if only I were the royal lock.' Let Orion shine next to Aquarius").[26] And, of course, there is Catullus 66.39–40, "invita, o regina, tuo de vertice cessi, | invita: adiuro teque tuumque caput." The second line certainly renders Callimachus fragment 110.40, σήν τε κάρην ὤμοσα σόν τε βίον. We are on fairly sure ground in assuming that the first line is an adaptation, however close, of Callimachus (or of Callimachus's adaptation of Sappho).[27]

This passage has other overtones of Sappho. In addition to the Callimachean *variatio* on ἰόκολπος, the erotic image of the dapple-winged horse bearing the lock through the damp air can be read against Sappho's imagery (as of Aphrodite in fr. 1) of ethereal journeying. The erotic breeze is another of Sappho's images that may be a model behind Callimachus's θῆλυς ἀήτης . . . ἥ[λ]αςε δὲ

[23] See Gutzwiller 1992: 380. See also Selden (1998: 340), whose work on the pharaonic iconography that also underlies this poem particularly highlights the sexual imagery of catasterism.

[24] In this context, on line 53, κυκλώσας βαλιὰ πτερά, "circling his dappled wings," see Koenen 1993: 102.

[25] Berenice's interest in the perfume trade is attested at Athen. 15.689a; see further Fraser 1972: II 296 n. 337; Herter 1971: 54–68. This is one of the subtle moments in Callimachus's poem where Greek literary tradition and contemporary Greco-Egyptian historical reality come together.

[26] I accept the transmitted text rather than Lachmann's emendation; see Gutzwiller 1992: 382–83. Marinone (1997: 74) reads "(sidera cur iterentur? ["why do the stars repeat?"]) uti coma regia fiam" for line 93; see his discussion ibid. 221–27. See also Hollis 1994: 46 and 59 n. 62; Rossi 2000: 299–312.

[27] The nuptial aition that concludes Catull. 66 is absent from the version of fr. 110 preserved on papyri, but were we to assume that Callimachus's poem concluded with such a nuptial rite in the poem's voice, the lock, as singer, there would be an intriguing parallel to Sappho's first-person presence in her wedding poetry.

πνοιῇ με.[28] Other extant Sappho fragments preserved in a Berlin papyrus (*P.Berol*. 9722) shed a necessarily broken but nonetheless real light on our reading of Callimachus fragment 110.[29] Several of the fragmentary poems are detailed laments of separation and longing (possibly fr. 95; certainly frr. 94 and 96); all are imbued with language and imagery of *habrosynē*. Fragment 96.6–9 has one of Sappho's more striking astral images, that of the moon outshining the stars: νῦν δὲ Λύδαιcιν ἐμπρέπεται γυναί | κεccιν ὥc ποτ' ἀελίω | δύντος ἀ βροδοδάκτυλος ‹celάννα› | πάντα περ‹ρ›έχοιc' ἄcτρα ("now she shines among the Lydian women as at times the rose-fingered moon when the sun has set, surpassing all the stars"). If these poems from the Berlin papyrus (*P.Berol.* 9722) are understood as evoking young women's memory of the time before marriage and departure for married life, then the rite evoked in Catullus 66.79–83 of the dedication of a lock of hair by young women on the eve of marriage offers a contextually close setting.[30]

Another image in these lines that finds an arresting parallel in a poem of Sappho, in this case fragment 1, has long been discussed in Callimachean scholarship. The horse(man)'s flight at line 53 of Callimachus fragment 110, κυκλώcας βαλιὰ πτερά ("circling his dappled wings"), and the sparrows with their thickly whirling wings that bear Aphrodite from heaven to Sappho in response to her prayer (lines 9–13): κάλοι δέ c' ἄγον | ὤ⌟κεες cτροῦθοι περὶ γᾶc μελαίνας | πύ⌟κνα δίν⌞νεντες πτέρ' ἀπ' ὠράνω⌟αἴθε | ρο⌟c διὰ μέccω ("and beautiful swift sparrows led you about the black earth, whirling their wings constantly from heaven through midair").[31] While the journeys are effectively in opposite directions—Aphrodite is borne from heaven, the lock is borne heavenward from Alexandria—they both result from prayers to Aphrodite. Further, both evoke their variations of epic or heroic motif. Sparrows draw Aphrodite's chariot in Sappho's poem; Callimachus calls attention to Memnon, brother of Zephyrus, son of Dawn, the hero of the *Aethiopis*, in the lock's lyric monody.

[28] Cf. esp. fr. 2.9–11, ἐν δὲ λείμων ἱππόβατος τέθαλεν | ἠρίνοιcιν ἄνθεcιν, αἰ δ' ἄηται | μέλλιχα πνέοιcιν, "therein a field trod by horses flourishes with spring flowers, and breezes breathe honey-sweet." Text after Campbell 1982.

[29] *P.Berol.* 9722 contains fragmentary poetry of Book 5 of Sappho, which consisted of poems in several meters, the primary one being the phalaecian. This is, again, a primary meter of Catullus's polymetrics, which has other affinities with this book of Sappho. For more detailed discussion of Book 5 of Sappho, see the appendix at the end of this chapter. Unlike Alcaeus, for whom Aristophanes' edition provides a terminus, an approximate date for an Alexandrian edition of Sappho is lacking, although the new Sappho fragment (*P.Köln* Inv. Nr. 21351) attests Sappho in book form in the third century BCE (see Gronewald and Daniel 2004: 1); it is not unthinkable that resonances of Sappho poems of the same meter in Callim. fr. 110 might reflect scholarly work on Sappho.

[30] Cf. fr. 96.15–17, πόλλα δὲ ζαφοίταιc' ἀγάνας ἐπι | μνάcθειc' Ἄτθιδοc ἰμέρωι | λέπταν ποι φρένα κ[.]ρ . . . βόρηται, "often as she roams she remembers gentle Atthis, and her delicate heart . . . is consumed with desire."

[31] Marinone 1997: 149.

Berenice's relationship to Arsinoe-Aphrodite is iconographically complex.[32] She will herself one day become Aphrodite. In a sense the lock's request to the queen at the end of the poem and its lament at being parted from her may be seen to reflect this transfiguration. The lock effectively becomes a suppliant of Berenice as Aphrodite.[33]

That Callimachus's *Lock of Berenice* is, at least in part, the Alexandrian poet's own rendition of a poem (or poems) of Sappho is a bold proposition. Why would Callimachus turn to Sappho here? We can fruitfully look for some supporting evidence in two directions: contemporary Hellenistic erotic portrayals of royal women and the nature of the poem's fictive occasion. We might further consider the poem's lyric character.

The erotic nature of contemporary celebrations of Ptolemaic queens is a feature of their encomiastic literature. This reflects both the Egyptian characterization of the pharaoh's wife and the close association of the Ptolemaic queen with Aphrodite. Two passages of Theocritus, both erotically tinged encomia of royal women, are relevant here. The first, Theocritus, *Idyll* 15.106–11, is a closely knit set of images of mother-daughter relations and assimilations sung by a female singer to an audience, if we can judge by the Adoneia elsewhere in the Greek world, a ritual composed primarily or solely of women:[34]

> Κύπρι Διωναία, τὺ μὲν ἀθανάταν ἀπὸ θνατᾶς,
> ἀνθρώπων ὡς μῦθος, ἐποίησας Βερενίκαν,
> ἀμβροσίαν ἐς στῆθος ἀποστάξασα γυναικός·
> τὶν δὲ χαριζομένα, πολυώνυμε καὶ πολύναε,
> ἁ Βερενικεία θυγάτηρ Ἑλένᾳ εἰκυῖα
> Ἀρσινόα πάντεσσι καλοῖς ἀτιτάλλει Ἄδωνιν.

> Cypris daughter of Dione, you, so men's story goes, made Berenice immortal from mortal, when you distilled ambrosia into her woman's breast. Indulging you, you of many names and many temples, Berenice's daughter, she who is like Helen, Arsinoe cherishes Adonis with all sorts of lovely things.

[32] Arsinoe, as the wife of the previous pharaoh, is the mother of both Ptolemy III and his sister-wife, Berenice II. Berenice is thus the living embodiment of Arsinoe, and so of Aphrodite. See Koenen 1993: 53, 110.

[33] Cf. Koenen 1993: 108; see also Selden (1998: 342) for an illustrative parallel Egyptian text. As Fantuzzi and Hunter (2004: 88) put it well: "so the carrying off of the lock both foretells its own divinization as a constellation and foreshadows the certain fate which awaits Berenice II when she 'dies.'" As Stephens (2003: 154–55) observes, the perfume, in Egyptian iconographic terms, implicates the lock's divine status, the future divine status of Berenice, and the queen's sexual desirability.

[34] At 15.97 Gorgo calls the singer "the Argive woman's daughter," ἁ τᾶς Ἀργείας θυγάτηρ. Sappho's extant poetry that reflects close mother-daughter ties is relevant here, and surely influences her role as model.

Whether or not men are present at Arsinoe's Adonis festival is still debated; see Reed 2000: 323–24; Gow 1938: 182 n. 10 on 15.149, χαίροντας; Burton 1995: 144–25.

These lines are Theocritus's recreation of the embalming scenes of the *Iliad*,[35] with the Ptolemaic queen cast in the role of dead warrior.[36] Indeed, at *Iliad* 23.186–87 it is Aphrodite who anoints Hector's body. At the same time, the passage from Theocritus 15 has markedly erotic overtones throughout in its imagery and its language: for example, χαριζομένα, ἀτιτάλλει. The latter term, here used for Arsinoe's treatment of Adonis, Aphrodite uses in the *Homeric Hymn to Aphrodite* for her Trojan nurse's caregiving when she is telling Anchises of her childhood. Here Aphrodite, daughter of Dione, and Arsinoe, daughter of Berenice, coalesce in one moment, both fostering the cult of Adonis.[37] Aphrodite, the goddess whose love for Adonis is the song's center, is the same goddess who distills ambrosia into Berenice's breast—thus the parallel between Aphrodite, the dead Berenice, and the dead Adonis erotically charges the relationship of queen and goddess.

A second encomiastic passage of the same Berenice directs the reader in the same way. *Idyll* 17.34–50 is a longer encomium of Berenice I, detailing her sexual attractiveness, her marital fidelity, and her celebration in death. Aphrodite plays a signal role in each of these three parts of the encomium. The opening of this passage (lines 36–37) is of special interest:

> τᾷ μὲν Κύπρον ἔχοισα Διώνας πότνια κούρα
> κόλπον ἐς εὐώδη ῥαδινὰς ἐσεμάζατο χεῖρας.
>
> For upon her the daughter of Dione, the lady who holds Cyprus, pressed her slender hands upon her fragrant *kolpos*.

Κόλπον is conventionally translated "bosom" (Gow), "breast" (Verity, Hunter). A strong case can be made, though, for taking it as more erotically complex. The lines that follow are concerned with sexual intercourse and childbirth: Berenice's quality as spouse and mother is being praised. Κόλπος exhibits a broad semantic range in lyric, including the erotic. The erotic sense of these passages has been lost to modern readership, in large part because of sensibilities that we project back onto the Alexandrians. Winkler's caveat on undervaluing these images already in Sappho is equally, and significantly, appropriate here; the erotic vocabulary of lyric, while appropriate to elevated poetic art (and so very different from that of invective, say), is nonetheless erotic, and sometimes very

[35] *Il.* 19.38–39: Πατρόκλῳ δ' αὖτ' ἀμβροσίην καὶ νέκταρ ἐρυθρὸν | στάξε κατὰ ῥινῶν, ἵνα οἱ χρὼς ἔμπεδος εἴη, "In Patroclus's nostrils she [*sc.* Thetis] dripped ambrosia and red nectar, that his flesh remain firm"; 23.186–87: ῥοδόεντι δὲ χρῖεν ἐλαίῳ | ἀμβροσίῳ, ἵνα μή μιν ἀποδρύφοι ἑλκυστάζων, "she [*sc.* Aphrodite] anointed [Hector's body] with rose-colored ambrosial oil, that Achilles in dragging him not lacerate him." See Stephens 2003:153–54. Cf. also Pind. *Pyth.* 9.63 (of Aristaeus); Ap. Rh. 4.871.

[36] Callimachus effects a similar transference in fr. 228, *The Deification of Arsinoe*, where the lament for the dead Arsinoe clearly reflects the Iliadic lament for the dead Hector. See Acosta-Hughes 2003: 483; D'Alessio 1996: 665 n. 26, 666 n. 29; Di Benedetto 1994: 273–76.

[37] Mother-daughter imagery in Sappho may also be relevant here.

much so.[38] In part, too, the similarities of the two encomiastic passages of the same queen have impeded the perception of their potentially different shading—in particular of *Idyll* 15.108, ἀμβροσίαν ἐς στῆθος ἀποστάξασα γυναικός, and 17.37, κόλπον ἐς εὐώδη ῥαδινὰς ἐσεμάξατο χεῖρας. Both may be read as having erotic coloring.[39] The imagery of embalming is conjoined with that of instilling desirability.[40] That both, though, are imbued with some resonance of Sappho is not surprising. Both (as is the case with Callim. fr. 110) make an equation of woman and goddess, a comparison that we can trace in Sappho's poetry. The broken lines 21–26 of Sappho fragment 96, with their comparison of mortal women and goddesses, are especially interesting and especially frustrating here.[41] As a poetic model of erotically imbued associations of Aphrodite and mortal women, Sappho is an obvious prefiguring voice for the encomiastic poets of the Alexandrian court.[42]

The cult of Aphrodite-Arsinoe at Zephyrium has left no physical remains. We know it almost entirely through the poetry that, for us, effectively creates rather than reflects it.[43] Most of the poetry about this temple consists of epigrams, a fact that reflects one tendency of Hellenistic epigram—the very small poem encompassing the very large monument.[44] The epigrams associated with this shrine are Callimachus 14 GP (5 Pf.), Posidippus 12 GP (116 AB), and Posidippus 13 GP (119 AB). The first two of these suggest an association between the temple, or the rites celebrated there, or both with girls on the eve of marriage.[45] Again Sappho is a logical poetic model.

[38] Winkler 1996: 102: "The ordinary ancient concern with fertility, health, and bodily function generated a large family of natural metaphors for human sexuality and, conversely, sexual metaphors for plants and body parts. A high degree of personal modesty and decorum is in no way compromised by a daily language which names the world according to genital analogies or by marriage customs whose function is to encourage fertility and harmony in a cooperative sexual relationship." And Theocr. *Id*. 17 and Callim. fr. 110 are nothing if not celebratory of a monogamous cooperative sexual relationship. On the other hand, a graphically inappropriate utterance like Sotades fr. 1 Powell is the more effective when considered as a satiric take on imagery that specifically celebrates royal sexual congress.

[39] On the beauty of the dead Osiris, see Reed (2000: 326–28); and on the assimilation of the dead Berenice to Osiris in this text, see Reed ibid.: 334–36.

[40] Stephens 2003: 153–54.

[41] Lines 21–24: ε]ὔμαρ[ες μ]ὲν οὐ. α. μι θέαισι | μόρ|φαν ἐπή[ρατ]ον ἐξίςω | cθαι, "it is not easy (. . .) to equal the goddesses in loveliness of form." It's possible that line 21 of fr. 96 begins a new poem: see Voigt *ad locum*.

[42] At Theocr. 17.51–52, πᾶσιν δ' ἤπιος ἥδε βροτοῖς μαλακοὺς μὲν ἔρωτας | προσπνείει, κούφας δὲ διδοῖ ποθέοντι μερίμνας, "and upon all mortals she gently breathes soft desires, and gives light cares to one in longing," Berenice has effectively become the Aphrodite of erotic lyric. Cf. Theocr. 18.51–55 (of Aphrodite).

[43] On the cult at Zephyrium and the lack of physical evidence for the temple, see esp. Stephens 2005: 245–47.

[44] See Bing 1998.

[45] Gutzwiller 1992: 198–200.

Callimachus's *Lock of Berenice* is a poem that celebrates, in many ways, a young woman's transition from childhood to marriage, love and separation, *erōs* and sensual imagery (*habrosynē*). It is also a monodic song—the same voice sings from the first line to the end (as we have it in Callimachus's text; definitely in Catullus's rendition). The singer, here the lock, tells its own history in a narrative that is not linear, so much as, typically of lyric, selectively episodic.[46] In its use of rhetorical question, repeated first-person emphasis, and slightly pathetic exaggerated lament, this first-person aria has remarkable structural affinities with conventional lyric already. That Callimachus would insert a novel term, ἰόζωνος, by adding two lines later the word κόλπους, which recreates Sappho's ἰόκολπος, which itself deliberately, yet subtly, recalls Sappho, is an allusive *sphragis*. Ἰόκολπος occurs only in Sappho; its reconfiguration in this disjointed way, only here.

Contemporary political and historical circumstances may well have been a factor in Callimachus's appropriation of Sappho in this context. In his 1998 study of the poem's Egyptian heritage, D. Selden has shown the extent to which the celebratory lyric piece, appreciated at one level for its Greek poetic and cultural ties, also expresses pharaonic practice and imagery in a way that would have been appreciable by a contemporary Greco-Egyptian audience in its reception of a poem celebrating royal marital love, the Syrian War, and catasterism.[47] The image of the perfumed lock borne heavenward implicates both the queen's future apotheosis and her erotic desirability.[48] Her association with both Greek Aphrodite and Egyptian Hathor, with both the cultures of the new Ptolemaic kingdom, comes into play here. The same poem's relationship with Sappho may not be dissimilar, in that it may be at the same time an example of poetic reception—of a female poetic voice, a singer to unmarried girls, in close rapport with Aphrodite, and so on—and of a contemporary historical awareness. For much of the third century BCE, Lesbos fell within the realm of Ptolemaic overseas interests, possibly already during the reign of Ptolemy II, certainly under Ptolemies III and IV. The earliest evidence for Ptolemaic influence is an inscription, no longer extant (*IG* XII 2, 513), related to the cult of Arsinoe II.[49] An anecdote from Hyginus (*Astr*. 2.24) tells of Berenice II's intervention in one instance in favor of the inheritance rights of unmarried girls of Lesbos.[50] As is

[46] Cf. Koenen 1993: 96.

[47] See particularly Selden's preliminary analysis (1998: 329). On the dual Greco-Egyptian character of the signal works of literature of this period, see esp. Stephens 2003. The image of ambrosia-dripping Aphrodite in Theocr. 15 and 17 is one with such double value.

[48] Stephens 2003: 154–55.

[49] Labarre 1996: 53–54; Brun 1991: 101–2. The inscription survives only in Boeckh's facsimile (*CIG* II Add. no. 2168c). On this type of votive dedication to Arsinoe Philadelphus, found widely in the islands of the Aegean, see Robert 1966: 202–10.

[50] Hygin. *Astr*. 2.24: "Eratosthenes autem dicit et virginibus Lesbiis dotem quam cuique relictam a patre nemo solueret iussisse [*sc*. Berenicen] reddi, et inter eas constituisse petitionem." The text

true for other islands and cities (e.g., Cyrene, Delos, Cos, Aenus), the presence of Lesbos, its cities, and its culture in Callimachus and his contemporary fellow poets attests to contemporary political circumstances.[51] Text and context may be more entwined in Callimachus fragment 110 than we can now easily discern. The Ptolemaic queen as benefactor to young girls plays out a public role, much as Sappho seems also to do in her poetry. To put it another way: Sappho is at once a part of Alexandria's Greek cultural heritage and Lesbos's particular national treasure. In a sense Posidippus's Doricha epigram (on which further discussion below) is peculiarly apt here, for Sappho as cultural figure has come to Alexandria, but Greco-Egyptian politics have come to contemporary Lesbos. It may not be, in the end, so coincidental that both Arsinoe II and the poet Sappho are claimed as tenth Muse.

2.1.2. "Unwillingly I left": History of a Lament

Positing Sappho's presence in Callimachus fragment 110 might in turn alter or, rather, enhance our understanding of a Virgilian imitation of Catullus's *Coma Berenices*. At *Aeneid* 6.458, Aeneas, on encountering Dido's silent ghost in the underworld, attempts to explain his seeming abandonment of the Carthaginian queen: "invitus, regina, tuo de litore cessi ("unwillingly, Queen, I left your shore"). This is a resonant reconfiguration of Catullus 66.39, "invita, o regina, tuo de vertice cessi" ("unwillingly, Queen, I left your head"), a linchpin in the study of Catullan intertexts in Virgil and a line that has long made readers uncomfortable.[52] This discomfort, in turn, has led to a variety of attempts to explain away the seeming tonal dissonance of the two passages. Some are derogatory of Catullus; others are inventive explanations of tonal change.[53] If, however, Virgil is reading in Catullus-Callimachus one moment in a tradition of pathetic leavetaking, then Aeneas's declamation to Dido becomes much more textually nuanced. Aeneas repeats an unreal hope that recalls a long poetic history of compulsory separation and broken relations. This is a history, furthermore, characterized throughout by gender ambiguity. As A. Barchiesi observes,[54] Virgil's "invitus, regina," rewrites the gender of Catullus's "invita, o regina," just as Catullus's "coma" stabilizes the gender of Callimachus's enigmatically gendered βόστρυχος.[55] It is

(which is problematic) I give from Marinone 1997: 23 n. 30. See Marinone ibid. also for discussion of the text and its interpretation.

[51] *IG* XII, Suppl. 115, provides further evidence of Ptolemaic cult festival at Lesbos It is worth noting here that (e.g.) Theocr. 15.100 and 126, which refer in the context of the Adonis hymn to Golgi, Idalium, Miletus, and Samos, are also noting sites of recent Ptolemaic conquests. See Reed (2000: 320 n. 3) for further references.

[52] For some recent bibliography, see Barchiesi 1997: 212 n. 4; Wills 1998: 287 n. 20.

[53] See D'Alessio 1996: 535 n. 57.

[54] Barchiesi 1997: 213.

[55] As Barchiesi notes further (1997: 216) Statius's evocation of this same phrase (*Ach*. 1.652–55) occurs in a passage that specifically highlights gender ambiguity.

perhaps not surprising that Sappho fragment 94, a poem that delineates female-female desire and that implicates death in the transition from virgin childhood to marriage, should in turn invite an imitative tradition that allows for gender fluidity. In Sappho's poem and all these passages that echo it, abrogated personal and sexual relationships and duty over fulfillment of desire are at issue. If we assume the beloved of fragment 94 to have left Sappho for marriage and adulthood as does the girl of fragment 96, this is then paralleled by Ptolemy's leaving his bride for military duty—the lock correspondingly leaves its childhood setting in fulfillment of a vow, and Aeneas leaves Dido to found his kingdom in Italy.[56]

Reading Sappho in Callimachus's text and, in turn, in Catullus's rendition gives a new cast also to Catullus's *Carmen* 65, the Roman poet's accompanying epistle to his rendition of *The Lock of Berenice*. The presence of Sappho in Catullus 65 is most compelling in the final image of lines 19–24, the simile that introduces a young girl's embarrassed reaction to her mother's unexpected discovery of an apple, the clandestine gift of the young girl's beloved:

sed tamen in tantis maeoribus, Ortale, mitto
  haec expressa tibi carmina Battiadae,
ne tua dicta vagis nequiquam credita ventis
  effluxisse meo forte putes animo,
ut missum sponsi furtivo munere malum
  procurrit casto virginis e gremio,
quod miserae oblitae molli sub veste locatum,
  dum adventu matris prosilit, excutitur,
atque illud prono praeceps agitur decursu,
  huic manat tristi conscius ore rubor.

But though in such misfortunes, Hortalus, I send these poems of the Battiad rendered for you, lest you think your words have flowed out, vainly trusted, to the winds from my heart, as an apple sent, a furtive gift from her suitor, runs forth from the virgin's chaste lap, which the poor forgetful one had placed under her dress, then at her mother's approach it leaps forth, runs out, and goes forth headlong in a downward course, as across her sad face spreads a self-conscious blush.

That the final simile somehow evokes Callimachus, the poet of line 16, "carmina Battiadae," has long been the understanding of many critics of the poem. The deceitful gift of Acontius to Cydippe in Book 3 of the *Aetia* has been sometimes understood as the image evoked here.[57] A more complex reading

[56] I owe particular thanks to S. A. Stephens for discussion of this point.

[57] See most recently Hunter 1993b and 2006. This part of Callimachus's text is not extant. We know of the episode from later reference in Callimachus fr. 75. (lines 26–27), from the fragmentary *diēgēsis* to this passage, and from later imitation, especially Aristaenetus 1.10 and Ovid, *Heroides* 20–21.

might incorporate both Sappho and Callimachus, understanding Sappho as intertext in the poem of Callimachus that Catullus renders into Latin. The reference to the poet's adaptation of Callimachus in lines 15–16 is clear. Clear too is Catullus's personalization in lines 17–18, "ne tua dicta vagis nequiquam credita ventis | effluxisse meo forte putes animo" ("lest you think your words have flowed out, vainly trusted, to the winds from my heart"), of an image of a number of Hellenistic erotic epigrams. By using this, Catullus eroticizes the bond of speaker and addressee. Callimachus himself is one of the poets of Hellenistic epigram who play on the theme of the failed ascent of lovers' oaths, as in, for example, epigram 11.3–4 GP.: ὤμοσεν· ἀλλὰ λέγουσιν ἀληθέα τοὺς ἐν ἔρωτι | ὅρκους μὴ δύνειν οὔατ' ἐς ἀθανάτων ("he swore; but they speak the truth who say that oaths sworn in love don't reach the ears of the gods").[58] The last movement of the passage of Catullus 65 segues into lines that, with the image of the unseen apple and the redness spreading across the girl's face, evoke a number of images from what remains of Sappho's poetry of marriage, particularly the "blushing" apple of Sappho fragment 105a1, οἷον τὸ γλυκύμαλον ἐρεύθεται ἄκρωι ἐπ' ὔκεδωι ("just as the sweet-apple grows red on the remotest branch"). And Catullus appropriates a different image from the same poem (fr. 105b) to close one of his own poems in Sapphic stanzas, again in an image of lost innocence.[59] The presence of Sappho here, then, prefigures her presence in Catullus 66, just as Catullus 65.20, "casto virginis e gremio," prefigures Catullus 66.56, "Veneris casto . . . in gremio," each evoking Sappho's ἰόκολπος in a Catullan rendering of Callimachus. This repetition might at first appear the poet's (slightly redundant) appeal to a topos that has a very different meaning for the careful Roman emulator of both earlier singers. A similar configuration of texts occurs with Catullus 50 and 51, again with Catullus's adaptation, this time of Sappho, and a poem that presents this adaptation. Again one central term—50.1, "otiosi"—prefigures a strong Catullan intervention in the adaptation, here with "otium," topic of the Catullan fourth stanza of *Carmen* 51. As I argue more extensively elsewhere, Catullus 50 is in turn a poem imbued with Callimachean resonances; again Catullus conjoins these two singers.

[58] Catullus returns to this same epigrammatic image at Catull. 70. 3–4, "dicit: sed mulier cupido quod dicit amanti, | in vento et rapida scribere oportet aqua," "she spoke, but what a woman says to a desirous lover should be written on the wind and running water." That Catullus in part has the Callimachus epigram in mind seems clear (note the position of ὤμοσεν/"dicit"); he has, however, typically of his own self-imaging, reversed roles and made himself the victim, whereas in the Callimachus epigram this is the female figure.

[59] Sappho fr. 105b1–2, οἷαν τὰν ὐάκινθον ἐν ὤρεσι ποίμενες ἄνδρες | πόσσι καταστείβοισι, χάμαι δέ τε πόρφυρον ἄνθος, "so shepherding men tread on the hyacinth in the mountains, and the purple flower lies upon the ground" ≈ Catull. 11.22–24, "qui illius culpa cecidit velut prati | ultimi flos, praetereunte postquam | tactus aratro est," "which, because of her sin, has fallen like a flower on the furthest field, upon being grazed by a passing plow." I have also wondered whether in "ore" in the last line of *Carmen* 65 Catullus evokes Sappho's ῥέθος (extant only at fr. 22.3).

If we read Callimachus fragment 110, at least in part, as the poet's representation of Sappho, its place at the end of *Aetia* 4 becomes intriguing. *Aetia* 3 opens with Callimachus's reworking of Pindar in his own Nemean ode to Berenice II. This he follows in *Aetia* 3 with the *Tomb of Simonides*, and then, in fragments 67–75, with an apparent evocation of Bacchylides in his reference to the destruction of the Telchines.[60] If *Aetia* 3 and 4 are seen to have closed with a clear evocation of Sappho, then these later books of the *Aetia* must appear to be informed by models drawn from Archaic lyric, just as *Aetia* 1 and 2 appear to have been informed by hexameter poetry, in particular Hesiod, but also by heroic material (e.g., the *Argonautica*) and the hexameter catalogue (e.g., the *Sicilian Cities*). The presence of the instructive or inspiring Muses in *Aetia* 1 and 2 would then be Callimachus's own amusingly subtle recreation of the relationship of Muse and poet in Archaic hexameter verse, just as their absence would mark the different configuration and authority of the first-person voice of Archaic lyric. And, as in at least one Hellenistic epigram on the lyric canon (*AP* 9.571), Sappho comes, set apart, last.

THE NEW SAPPHO AGAIN

The opening of the *Aetia* offers a different parallel with a Sappho text, one that in large part reflects the use of lyric topoi in both. The text, the new Sappho papyrus (*P.Köln* Inv. 58 Nr. 21351), joined with the preexisting fragment (*P.Oxy* 1787), is a vivid first-person statement on the poet's experience of old age.[61] The aging singer is a conventional topos of lyric.[62] From this perspective we might well consider the aging Callimachus of *Aetia* fragment 1.

The text given below of the new Sappho fragment is that of M. L. West,[63] who argues that the poem is complete in twelve lines.[64]

ϒμμες πεδὰ Μοίσαν ἰ]ǫκ[ό]λπων κάλα δῶρα, παῖδες,
σπουδάσδετε καὶ τὰ]ῳ φιλάοιδον λιγύραν χελύναν·

ἔμοι δ' ἄπαλον πρίν] ποτ' [ἔ]ǫντα χρόα γῆρας ἤδη
ἐπέλλαβε, λεῦκαι δ' ἐγ]ένοντο τρίχες ἐκ μέλαιναν· 4

βάρυς δέ μ' ὀ [θ]ῦμǫς πεπόηται, γόνα δ' [ο]ὐ φέροισι,
τὰ δή ποτα λαίψηρ' ἔον ὄρχησθ' ἴσα νεβρίοισι.

τὰ ‹μὲν› στεναχίσδω θαμέως· ἀλλὰ τί κεν ποείην;
ἀγήραον ἄνθρωπον ἔοντ' οὐ δύνατον γενέσθαι. 8

[60] Bacchylides 1, of which the first section is missing, appears to have narrated this tale at some length.

[61] The new text was first edited by Gronewald and Daniel 2004.

[62] This tradition begins already with Mimnermus (e.g., fr. 5 W). Sappho's is, unusually, a woman's perspective on aging.

[63] *TLS* 24 June 2005; the translation is my own.

[64] This remains a point of scholarly dispute.

καὶ γάρ π̣[ο]τ̣ᾳ Τίθωνον ἔφαντο βροδόπαχυν Αὔων
ἔρωι φ. . ᾳ̣θ̣ε̣ισαν βάμεν' εἰc ἔcχατα γᾶc φέροιcα[ν,

ἔοντᾳ̣ [κ]ᾰ̣λ̣ο̣ν καὶ νέον, ἀλλ' αὖτον ὔμως ἔμαρψε
χρόνωι π̣ό̣λ̣ι̣ο̣ν γῆρας, ἔχ̣[ο]ν̣τ̣' ἀθανάταων ἄκοιτιν. 12

For the gifts of the Muses with violets in their laps
be eager, girls, and for the clear song-loving lyre.

Yet my once tender body old age has now overtaken,
and my hair has turned white from black.

Heavy has my spirit grown; my knees don't bear me up,
which once were nimble as fawns in the dance.

Often do I lament these things. But what can I do?
Being mortal, it cannot be that I am ageless.

They say once rosy-armed Dawn, in love with Tithonus,
bore him off to the ends of the earth

young and fair then, but in time gray old age
came upon him, though he had an immortal wife.

This poem, with the stichic metrical pattern

x – ◡◡ – – ◡◡ – – ◡◡ – ◡ – –

can probably be assigned to Book 4 of Sappho.[65] After a note on the Muses' gifts, the singer laments her age, which weighs down her spirit: βάρυc δέ μ' ὸ [θ]ῡμο̣ς̣ πεπόηται. The poem as given here concludes with the reference to Tithonus, the lover of Dawn, who gained for him eternal life but not eternal youth.[66] Several passages in early Hellenistic poetry appear to recall this poem[67]—one of theme in the opening of the *Aetia*.

[65] Gronewald and Daniel 2004: 1.

[66] If we rather understand the poem to be in sixteen lines, and to include fr. 58.23–26, as some scholars prefer, the poet would then continue with a rapport with the sun, one that includes softness and beauty, characteristics of youth that contrast with old age. Again, though, the inclusion of these lines is not certain and remains a point of contention. I have chosen not to include them in the text but give the lines here for the reader's convenience. The last two are known from a citation of Clearchus at Athen. 15.687b:

]ιμέναν νομίcδει
]αιc ὀπάcδοι
⌊ἐγὼ δὲ φίλημμ' ἀβροcύναν,⌋] τοῦτο καί μοι
τὸ λά⌊μρπον ἔρως ἀελίῳ καὶ τὸ κά⌋λον λέ⌊λ⌋ογχε.

thinks . . . might provide . . . but I love delicacy . . . for me love has obtained this, the sun's lovely splendor.

[67] Two others (Theocr. 18.26, Ἀὼς ἀντέλλοισα, "Dawn on rising," and Ap. Rh. 3.954, ἦ θαμὰ δὴ στηθέων ἐάγη κέαρ, "often her heart shattered in her breast") I discuss above in the previous chapter.

Callimachus fragment 1 is a complex mosaic of models. An individual image, such as that of the cicada, may recall a variety of earlier cicadas and their contexts.[68] Indeed lines 29–30, ἐνι τοῖς γὰρ ἀείδομεν οἳ λιγὺν ἦχον | τέττιγος ("for we sing among those who [love] the clear sound of the cicada"), may be read both in the context of the adaptation of Aesopic fable that follows and as a metapoetic gesture toward cicadas of earlier literature.[69] One further text implicated here may well be the new Sappho poem. The singer of Callimachus fragment 1, who prefers the song of the cicada (Tithonus after metamorphosis [lines 28–35], subtly suggested by the homonymic τυτθόν), laments his own aging (lines 35–36; βάρυς of aging is typical), which he contrasts with the Muses' sustained love (lines 37–38), and then dreams of himself, young again, on Helicon (*Scholia Florentina* to frr. 2–4 Massimilla). The final image of fragment 1 as we have it is of immobility (here of the swan, or, perhaps, of the cicada). Note the image of the lyre in line 2 of Sappho's poem, τὰ]ν φιλάοιδον λιγύραν χελύναν. This shares with the Callimachus passage both the tonal quality λιγύς/λιγύρος and the association of song and φιλία.[70] The Muses in the first line of the Sappho poem are ἰόκολποι, "with violets in their laps." Here the epithet seems not to carry any erotic connotation. We know, although the text is in a very fragmentary state, that an invocation to the Muses followed fragment 1 of Callimachus's *Aetia*; the scholia to Callimachus fragment 3 Massimilla appear to attest that the poet numbered Arsinoe II among the Muses.[71] The association of Arsinoe and Sappho takes on an additional aspect: Sappho, who comes to be termed the tenth Muse, here in her own poem laments herself as aged. Callimachus laments his own aging, in a poem that may have figured Arsinoe, and as tenth Muse, at its beginning.

Catullus, *Carmen* 66, his *Lock of Berenice*, opens with an evocation of the story of Selene and Endymion, again a goddess and a male lover, like Tithonus and Dawn, and a mythological narrative that involves both a celestial journey and immortalization. This part of the Callimachean text—assuming that Catullus is rendering Callimachus here[72]—does not survive. So here we rely, cautiously, on Catullus 66.5–6: "ut Triviam furtim sub Latmia saxa relegans | dulcis amor gyro devocet aereo." The phrase "gyro aereo," given the wealth of celestial imagery in Callimachus's version, calls for our attention. Sappho's is the first known version (fr. 199 LP, omitted by Voigt, from a scholion to *Arg*. 4.57–58) of Selene's love for Endymion. Were the Endymion story to have figured in Callimachus fragment 110, we would then have an image of divine love for a mortal

[68] Acosta-Hughes and Stephens 2002: 251.

[69] Acosta-Hughes and Stephens 2002: 251–53.

[70] The scholion to Callim. fr. 3, λίγεια, gives both Homer (*Od*. 24.62) and Alcman (*PMGF* 14a, 1) as parallel uses of the tonal quality with the Muses; the latter citation is especially intriguing, as it suggests the reader's association of this part of Callimachus's poem with lyric vocabulary.

[71] *P.Lit.Lond.* 181.45; *P.Oxy*. 2262, fr. 2a.10–15.

[72] Always a problematic assumption: see Bing 1997.

(Selene's for Endymion) at the end of Callimachus's long elegiac *Aetia* that balances an image of divine love for a mortal at the poem's beginning (Tithonus), with the possibility that Sappho's poetry is implicated in both. Given the important role of a female royal figure at both the poem's beginning and its end, as well as a royal figure further assimilated to Aphrodite, Sappho's patron, a compositional logic becomes more evident. For the Alexandrian poet singing of his goddess-queen, what better model was there than Sappho?

EPILOGUE: *ACONTIUS AND CYDIPPE*

"How important *was* 'Acontius and Cydippe'?" The question that R. Hunter poses at the end of a recent article on the *Aetia* and Roman elegy prompts reconsideration of the wide and enduring influence of this piece on Roman poets from Catullus to Ovid, and of some aspects of the piece itself. This long, episodic elegiac poem defines, among other things, the origin of written love elegy—Acontius imagines the trees bearing the declaration that Cydippe is beautiful. And this poem is also one that rewrites, though quite differently from the recreations of both Theocritus and Apollonius that we considered in the previous chapter, the varied elements of Sappho's famous φαίνεταί μοι κῆνος into Callimachus's elegies.

The narrative of this poem we know largely from later renditions: Acontius first sees Cydippe at the Delian festival of Apollo; he throws an apple in her direction on which he has inscribed an oath to marry him; Cydippe reads the inscription aloud and is immediately bound to the inscription's author. Both return to their respective island homes; he pines away with the conventional symptoms of ἐρωτικὴ νόσος; he goes out into an isolated setting and declares his love at some length (Callim. frr. 72–74). She, on the eve of being wed to another, falls ill (fr. 75); this happens repeatedly; finally her father learns the truth from Apollo at Delphi, and the two are married at last.

The Callimachean original is only very partially extant. The long final fragment (fr. 75) begins on the eve of Cydippe's marriage to another man. A fragment of a later prose summary preserves some version of the oath. We know Acontius's monody (of which only three lines survive: frr. 73, 74) solely from later poetic imitations (Virgil, *Ecl.* 10; Prop. 1.18; Ovid, *Her.* 20) and a much later prose version (Aristaenetus [1.10], who also adapts another episode from *Aetia* 3 to prose epistle [1.15]). From the perspective of the reader of Sappho fragment 31, these are the points of contact:

1. Silence follows Acontius's first encounter with Cydippe. Cydippe's only utterance, apparently, is her reading of Acontius's oath. So far as we can tell, she never speaks again in the poem. Acontius cannot speak to his parents or associates but speaks only, in isolation, to nature.

2. Both figures are overcome by illness: he by the conventional symptoms of lovesickness (inability to speak, eat, etc.); she, however, by a series of quite

specific medical conditions. Callimachus here expands on Sappho. Sappho's poem already famously imports medical language and imagery into lyric. In Callimachus fragment 75 these become an elegiac catalogue of illnesses: *erōs* and sight, pallor, and disorientation (lines 12–14), fever (16–17), chills (18–19). As is also true of Simaitha in Theocritus's *Idyll* 2, Sappho's seeming death here nearly becomes the real thing: "the girl wasted almost to the house of Hades" (line 15, τὴν κούρην Ἀ[ΐ δ]ᾳω μέχρις ἔτηξε δόμων).

3. Callimachus's initial description of Cydippe at fragment 67.13, ἠοῖ εἰδομένη μάλιον ῥέθος ("more like dawn in her countenance"), may cue the recollection of Sappho here. Ῥέθος in this sense was viewed by ancient grammarians as markedly Aeolic.[73]

Callimachus fragment 75, Theocritus, *Idyll* 2, and Apollonius *Argonautica* 3 (and its recall at the opening of *Argonautica* 4) all bear witness to the popularity of one poem of Sappho's in a later era. All are moments in the history of the reception of this poem, though each recalls it differently. Indeed this is a poem whose popularity ensured its survival. We cannot know that all of Sappho was similarly popular in the Hellenistic period;[74] nonetheless, the extensive artistic recreation of those sixteen lines suggests, if only obliquely, a much larger role for Sappho's voice in later Greek (and Latin) poetry than we can even begin to perceive with the fragments of her verse that remain to us.

2.2. The Tenth Muse: Sappho in Hellenistic Epigram

Sappho's presence in Hellenistic epigram mirrors her broad cultural influence in this later period. There are epigrams that were ascribed to Sappho herself. There are epigrams that celebrate Sappho both among the poets of the lyric canon and alone. And there is an array of epigrammatic authors who imitate her. Each contributes in part to the almost paradoxical situation that a poet whose art was both performative and part of an oral culture comes to have a particularly strong and lasting resonance in a later art form strongly associated with writing, the erotic epigram.

2.2.1. Sappho's Epigrams

πολλὰ μὲν ἐμπλέξας Ἀνύτης κρίνα, πολλὰ δὲ Μοιροῦς
λείρια, καὶ Σαπφοῦς βαιὰ μὲν ἀλλὰ ῥόδα
(Meleager 1.5–6 GP)

And I wove in many lilies of Anyte, many of Moero, of Sappho just a few, but all are roses.

[73] Citations collected by Harder *ad locum*.
[74] A point well noted by Cusset 1999: 332.

Sappho appears early among Meleager's authors, in a distich that pairs her with Anyte and Moero. The first authors who figure in Meleager's long catalogue are women;[75] chronologically they are rather early;[76] and in particular Sappho's is the first to appear as the sole name in a single line. This gives her an immediate importance in this long catalogue poem. On one level this is indicative of the way Meleager perceives epigram. On another it is an extraordinary example of Sappho's impact on a genre with which we do not now associate her. The extant epigrams attributed to Sappho are few and not particularly noteworthy. Unlike the case of Anacreon, where it is fairly plausible that some number of the epigrams attributed to him may be genuine,[77] there is no reason to think that those of Sappho are genuine.[78]

The ascription of epigrams to lyric poets is a significant aspect of the relationship of Hellenistic epigram to earlier lyric. Although we do not now generally accept many of these epigrams as genuine, their place in the Alexandrian literary tradition complicates the reception of their authors, particularly in generic terms. To put it another way, if the Alexandrian reader knew Sappho as, even if not primarily, an author of epigrams, the dynamic of artistic appropriation changes. The lyric poets would have then themselves already effected the generic crossing into epigram. A later epigrammatic tradition evokes, rather than effects, this transference. Meleager's inclusion of Sappho in his *Garland* certainly suggests the plausibility of her authorship of epigrams in the Hellenistic period, even if, in Sappho's case, Meleager underlines that her epigrams in his collection are few.[79]

[75] The first twelve lines of Meleager's opening poem, and the first eight that are part of the catalogue itself, include Anyte, Moero, Sappho, Melanippides, Simonides, Nossis, Rhianus, and Erinna. The prominence of women poets is striking. Plaiting garlands, furthermore, while it becomes a metaphor for poetry collections already in Asclepiades 12 GP is of itself an activity largely associated with women—the anthologist here figures himself as differently gendered.

[76] Anyte is fourth-century; Moero, early third. While there is considerable variation among the figures in these early lines of Meleager, they are predominantly earlier than many of the figures that follow. While chronology does not appear to be a distinctive factor throughout this poem, the opening with early figures is deliberate.

[77] See further below in the unnumbered, untitled introductory section to chapter 4.

[78] Although at least one may reflect a distant familiarity with her poetry: Sappho *Ep.* 1 (*AP* 6.269). Line 3, Ἀρίστα, may be the reference, or echo of one, that Pausanias cites at 1.29.2, περιβολός ἐστιν Ἀρτέμιδος καὶ ξόανα Ἀρίστης καὶ Καλλίστης· ὡς μὲν ἐγὼ δοκῶ, καὶ ὁμολογεῖ τὰ ἔπη τὰ Σαπφοῦς, τῆς Ἀρτέμιδός εἰσιν ἐπικλήσεις αὗται, "there is a precinct of Artemis and statues of Ariste and Kalliste; so I think, and Sappho's lines agree, that these are titles of Artemis." One wonders whether the partly conventional opening of this poem (παῖδες, ἄφωνος ἐοῖσα ποτεννέπω αἴ τις ἔρηται, | φωνὰν ἀκαμάταν κατθεμένα πρὸ ποδῶν, "children, though voiceless I answer if anyone asks, I answer with the tireless voice the words set at my feet") is not also meant to recall the broken voice of Sappho fr. 31.

[79] A similar situation exists with Plato, the only predominantly prose author in Meleager's catalogue (line 47). The ascription of epigrams to him would not work unless it is believable (unlikely though it be) that Plato composed epigram.

D. Yatromanolakis has suggested that this collection of epigrams was later known as Book 9 of Sappho.[80] The idea is a good one, and such a concept would certainly parallel, significantly, both Callimachus and Catullus as authors of books of epigrams. The attribution of epigrams to Sappho also results in her association with elegiac couplet (not a meter she uses in her extant poetry, unlike, say, Archilochus). Again the association is significant. Ovid's amusing history of elegiac love poetry at *Remedia Amoris* 757–66 is then the more effective and indicative of the way a later genre appropriates its lyric models:

eloquar invitus: teneros ne tange poetas;
summoveo dotes ipsius ipse meas.
Callimachum fugito, non est inimicus amori;
et cum Callimacho tu quoque, Coe, noces.
me certe Sappho meliorem fecit amicae,
nec rigidos mores Teia Musa dedit.
carmina quis potuit tuto legisse Tibulli
vel tua, cuius opus Cynthia sola fuit?
quis poterit lecto durus discedere Gallo?
et mea nescioquid carmina tale sonant.

Let me speak out, though against my will: touch not the gentle poets; I my gifts I myself subtract [from their number]. Avoid Callimachus, for he is no enemy to love; and with Callimachus you too, Coan, do harm. Sappho truly made me better for my girlfriend, nor did the Teian Muse grant prudish ways. Who could have read your poems, Tibullus, safely, or yours, of whose work Cynthia was sole care? What man is so hard that he can deviate from Gallus, once he has read him? And even my poems, for what they're worth, do have some voice.

2.2.2. Epigrams on Sappho

Ἔκλαγεν ἐκ Θηβῶν μέγα Πίνδαρος· ἔπνεε τερπνὰ
ἡδυμελεῖ φθόγγῳ μοῦσα Σιμωνίδεω·
λάμπει Στησίχορός τε καὶ Ἴβυκος· ἦν γλυκὺς Ἀλκμάν·
λαρὰ δ' ἀπὸ στομάτων φθέγξατο Βακχυλίδης·
Πειθὼ Ἀνακρείοντι συνέσπετο· ποικίλα δ' αὐδᾷ
Ἀλκαῖος, κύκνος Λέσβιος, Αἰολίδι.
ἀνδρῶν δ' οὐκ ἐνάτη Σαπφὼ πέλεν, ἀλλ' ἐρατειναῖς
ἐν Μούσαις δεκάτη Μοῦσα καταγράφεται.

(*AP* 9.571)

From Thebes Pindar sounded greatly; pleasurably breathed with sweet-songed voice Simonides' poetry. Stesichorus and Ibycus shown, Alcman was

[80] Yatromanolakis 1999: 183, 185–86.

sweet. Bacchylides gave voice pleasantly from his mouth. Persuasion followed Anacreon. Alcaeus, the Lesbian swan, cried changefully, in Aeolic. But Sappho was not ninth among men, but among the lovely Muses is enrolled as tenth Muse.

This anonymous epigram (*AP* 9.571, *FGE* 36b) sets Sappho at once at an acme and apart. Unlike the canon epigram that casts Pindar as prince of lyric (*AP* 9.184), this one reads differently. Though Pindar appears first here too, it is Sappho who stands apart, the only poet assigned a complete distich, and with the outstanding characteristic that she is cast as a Muse. Καταγράφεται is very effective here—the epigram actually brings this about; it is at once the description of the enrollment and the enrollment itself.[81]

Several epigrams figure Sappho and the cultural memory of her poetry. The first is Nossis 11 GP (*AP* 7.718):[82]

ὦ ξεῖν᾽, εἰ τύ γε πλεῖς ποτὶ καλλίχορον Μιτυλήναν
τᾶν Σαπφοῦς χαρίτων ἄνθος ἐναυσόμενος,
εἰπεῖν ὡς Μούσαισι φίλαν τήνᾳ τε Λόκρισσα
τίκτεν· ἴσαις δ᾽ ὅτι μοι τοὔνομα Νοσσίς, ἴθι.

Friend, if you sail for Mytilene with its lovely dancing ground to breathe in the flower of Sappho's Graces, tell how a Locrian woman bore one loved by the Muses, and by her. Know my name is Nossis; now go.

The poem juxtaposes places at once geographically and temporally distinct, two voices of female poets, and two poetic genres, the one, lyric song, made vividly present in the other, inscribed epigram. The juxtapositions, the image partially evoked of journey to the lyric past, and the appropriation of the lyric past for the speaker's own self-definition invite closer reading. Initially, the poem appears to take the form of a sepulchral epigram, particularly the epitaph of one dead far from home.[83] The reader of the first line and a half may further imagine something of the context of a *propemptikon*, a poetic wish for fair sailing, of which Sappho fragment 5, Sappho's prayer for her brother's safe arrival from Egypt, is an early example.[84] And indeed such a journey is the first image that comes to the reader's mind up to the pentameter caesura; χάριτες on this first reading are the Graces, a conventional presence in the language of Archaic lyric. Then the epigram evolves. With ἄνθος ἐναυσόμενος ("to breathe in the flower") it becomes clear that the poem's intent is different, that χαρίτων ἄνθος ("the flower of Graces") refers to Sappho's poems, and that ἐναυσόμενος is

[81] On the canon epigrams, see Barbantani 1993: 5–13; Barbantani 2007: 429–31.

[82] Text of lines 3–4 after Gallavotti (1971: 243, 245–46), followed by Gutzwiller (1998a: 85–86); both prefer the text as preserved by the manuscripts.

[83] Cf., e.g., Asclep. Ep. 31 GP = *AP* 7.500; Callim. Ep. 43 GP (12 Pf. = *AP* 7.521); on the type, see Tarán 1979: 132–49.

[84] Cf. also Solon fr. 11 Gentili-Prato. I thank M. Noussia for the reference.

applied to a reader, even, as one scholar postulates, a future poet who seeks to draw inspiration from Sappho's verses.[85] Χαρίτων ἄνθος, with its connotation of poetic texts, further contrasts with the occasional song suggested in καλλίχορον ("lovely-dancing"), an adjective at once conventional in lyric and appropriate in memorializing Sappho, as at least some of Sappho's poetry was later conceptualized as performed with dances.[86] Sappho, in Nossis's epigram, is her poetry, both recalled and read.

The second distich draws the reader back to the present and to the context of the poem's occasion. The poem evolves into a celebration not of Sappho but rather of Nossis in relation to her. The poem maintains the conventional conceits of sepulchral epigram (the message borne, the name of the absent one, the bid to depart) but transforms now into a celebration of another female poet, the singer of the envoi, Nossis, of her poetic heritage, and of her poetry. The names of the two poets, Sappho and Nossis, are set off in opposing half-lines of the two distichs. The epigram's structure thus effectively configures, on its own generic terms, the lineage from Sappho to Nossis.[87]

The Hellenistic epigrammatists knew the lyric poets both as subjects of cultural selection and preservation (hence the significance of the epigrams on poets) and also as edited texts. Dioscorides 18 GP (*AP* 7.407) is one witness to this,[88] touching not only on the standard themes of Sappho's poetry (wedding songs, Adonis songs) but also interweaving the extraordinary language of some of her more widely imitated poems. The interwoven allusions to poems of Book 1 of Sappho in lines 8–9 of Dioscorides' epigram are very clear. These attest not only the textual association of the poems but also their enduring popularity. As in other Hellenistic and Roman poetic genres that imitate Sappho, recollections of fragment 1, the opening poem of the Alexandrian Sappho collection, and fragment 31, a very famous poem already in antiquity, are particularly frequent in epigram.

Sappho as tenth Muse becomes something of a trope in later Greek and Roman epigram.[89] As with other epigrammatic tropes, the tradition here may

[85] Gutzwiller 1998a: 86. It is worth noting, though, that this figure is masculine (as is conventional in sepulchral epigrams), in a poem that otherwise comprises female referents. On ἐναυσόμενος and poetic inspiration, cf. Callim. fr. 203.

[86] Battezzato 2003: 37–38; cf. Ps.-Dem. *De Eloc.* 167, where the author argues that Sappho's scoptic poetry is suitable for recitation, not for singing and certainly not for a chorus. While not about performance per se, the discussion does suggest that the association of some of Sappho's poetry with choral song was plausible.

[87] If Brunck's text for line 3, φίλαν τήνᾳ τε Λοκρὶς γᾶ, is preferred, there is then also the parallelism of place names at the end of each hexameter. This effect remains, if in slightly muted form, in Gallavotti's text.

[88] Text cited above in the introduction.

[89] This appears first in an epigram attributed to Plato (*FGE* 13 = *AP* 9.506); cf. also Dioscorides 18 GP, Antipater of Sidon 12 GP (*AP* 9.66), Anon. 66 GP (*AP* 9.189), Antipater of Thessalonica 19 GP *Garland* (*AP* 9.26), Damocharides *AP* 16.310. See Barbantani 1993: 9–10, 28, and 30 (on Plato);

well become reflective of itself as much as of Sappho. One of Antipater's sepulchral poems on Sappho (11 GP = *AP* 7.14) is another example of the association of lyric singer and later collected poems.[90] Sappho has now become a cultural possession for the entire Greek world:

Σαπφώ τοι κεύθεις, χθὼν Αἰολί, τὰν μετὰ Μούσαις
ἀθανάταις θνατὰν Μοῦσαν ἀειδομέναν,
ἃν Κύπρις καὶ Ἔρως συνάμ' ἔτραφον, ἃς μέτα Πειθὼ
ἔπλεκ' ἀείζωον Πιερίδων στέφανον,
Ἑλλάδι μὲν τέρψιν, σοὶ δὲ κλέος. ὦ τριέλικτον
Μοῖραι δινεῦσαι νῆμα κατ' ἠλακάτας,
πῶς οὐκ ἐκλώσασθε πανάφθιτον ἦμαρ ἀοιδῷ
ἄφθιτα μησαμένᾳ δῶρ' Ἑλικωνιάδων;

You conceal Sappho, Aeolian land, a mortal Muse singing with immortal Muses, whom Cypris and Eros raised together, with whom Persuasion wove an ever-living crown of the Pierides, a pleasure for Hellas, and fame for you. Fates, you who twirl the thrice-coiled yarn along the distaff, how could you not spin an all-imperishable fate for the singer so mindful of the immortal gifts of the Heliconians?

Antipater's epigram consists of a series of oppositions. The whole celebrates what might be termed the apotheosis of Sappho. Sappho as "pleasure for Hellas" is emblematic of Sappho's transition from local cultural figure to one known throughout the Greek world, as the transition from singing with the Muses to Pieridean crown reflects the transition from singer to text. Sepulchral epigrams on lyric poets, of which there are many from the Hellenistic period, can themselves be seen as a reflection of this process.[91]

2.2.3. Recollections of Sappho

Features of Sappho's extant lyric that echo in Hellenistic epigram include her erotic language, imagery of sensual luxury (*habrosynē*), and the depiction of young childhood.[92] Meleager 10 GP, particularly lines 1–4, is one of the texts that recall Sappho's poem φαίνεταί μοι κεῖνος (fr. 31) in terms of epigrammatic adaptation of lyric language and imagery:[93]

αἰεί μοι δύνει μὲν ἐν οὔασιν ἦχος Ἔρωτος,
ὄμμα δὲ σῖγα Πόθοις τὸ γλυκὺ δάκρυ φέρει·

33–36 (on Dioscorides); 36–37 (on Ant. Sid.); 40 (on Tullius Laurea); 41–42 (on Ant. Thess.). On Tullius Laurea 1, see further below in this chapter.

[90] Gutzwiller 1998a: 260.

[91] On this epigram tradition, see Bing 1993.

[92] An earlier version of this section appeared in Acosta-Hughes 2007.

[93] See Gutzwiller (1998a: 298) on the Meleagrean sequence *AP* 5.211, 12.166, and 5.212.

οὐδ᾽ ἡ νύξ, οὐ φέγγος ἐκοίμισεν, ἀλλ᾽ ὑπὸ φίλτρων
ἤδη που κραδίᾳ γνωστὸς ἔνεστι τύπος·
ὦ πτανοί, μὴ καί ποτ᾽ ἐφίπτασθαι μέν, Ἔρωτες, 5
οἴδατ᾽, ἀποπτῆναι δ᾽ οὐδ᾽ ὅσον ἰσχύετε;

Ever does Eros's sound descend in my ears, and my silent eye offers a sweet tear to the Desires. Neither night nor daylight lays me to sleep, but by charms already in my heart, I think, the familiar stamp is set. Winged Loves, is it that you know how to fly here, but have not the strength to fly away?

The epigram's opening distich recalls the vivid sensory images of Sappho's poem, though differently. Whereas Sappho's describes sensory perceptions and reactions (the seeing and hearing of the beloved), Meleager's describes physiological sensation alone. Aural and visual sensations are in the reverse order of those in the epigram's lyric model. The epigram's first four lines parallel something of the move from external to internal in the opening lines of Sappho's poem, but at the caesura of line 4 comes recognition rather than confusion (Sappho fr. 31.6, καρδίαν ἐν στήθεσιν ἐπτόασεν); the fixity of γνωστὸς ἔνεστι τύπος ("the familiar stamp is set," which might be taken in a double sense, as meaning both of Eros and of Sappho's text and experience) surprises the poem's reader. Sappho fragment 31 finds, as we have seen, a number of remarkable imitations in Hellenistic poetry, among them Asclepiades 5 GP (*AP* 5.210) and Posidippus 129 AB (AP 5.211), the other poems in the same short Meleagrean sequence as Meleager 10 GP.[94] Meleager, himself an emulator of Sappho, collected these epigrams together. This collection itself suggests the possible use of a poetic model not only for later composition but also for associative reading.[95]

Meleager 22 GP differently rewrites one of the features of Sappho's erotic poetry that most struck her ancient readers, among them the author of *On the*

[94] Asclepiades 5 GP:

†τῷ θαλλῷ† Διδύμη με συνήρπασεν, ὤμοι, ἐγὼ δέ
τήκομαι ὡς κηρὸς πὰρ πυρὶ κάλλος ὁρῶν.
εἰ δὲ μέλαινα, τί τοῦτο; καὶ ἄνθρακες· ἀλλ᾽ ὅτε κείνους
θάλψωμεν, λάπουσ᾽ ὡς ῥόδεαι κάλυκες.

(. . .) Didyme seized me, alas, and I, looking on her beauty, melt like wax near fire. If she is black, what of it? So are coals. But when we warm them, they shine like rosebuds.

Posidippus 129 AB:

δάκρυα καὶ κῶμοι, τί μ᾽ ἐγείρετε πρὶν πόδας ἆραι
ἐκ πυρὸς εἰς ἑτέρην Κύπριδος ἀνθρακιήν;
λήγω δ᾽ οὔποτ᾽ ἔρωτος, ἀεὶ δέ μοι ἐξ Ἀφροδίτης
ἄλγος ὁ μὴ κρίνων καινὸν ἄγει τι Πόθος.

Tears and revels, why do you urge me, before taking my feet from the fire, to another of Cypris's coals? I never cease loving, but ever Desire, with no preference, leads me to some new suffering.

[95] See below on Dioscorides *AP* 5.52–56.

Sublime, who preserves fragment 31:[96] the experience of contradictory sensations. Lines 6–7 in particular seems to recall Sappho fragment 48, ἦλθες, †καὶ† ἐπόησας, ἐγὼ δέ σ' ἐμαιόμαν, | ὃν δ' ἔψυξας ἔμαν φρένα καιομέναν πόθωι ("you came . . . and I was mad for you; you cooled my heart burning with desire"), yet the epigram overall recalls something both of the discursive style of Sappho fragment 31 and the resignation at that poem's broken end, still clear in the broken text (line 17, ἀλλὰ πὰν τόλματον ἐπεὶ †καὶ πένητα†):

ἆ ψυχὴ βαρύμοχθε, σὺ δ' ἄρτι μὲν ἐκ πυρὸς αἴθῃ,
ἄρτι δ' ἀναψύχεις πνεῦμ' ἀναλεξαμένη·
τί κλαίεις· τὸν ἄτεγκτον ὅτ' ἐν κόλποισιν Ἔρωτα
ἔτρεφες, οὐκ ᾔδεις ὡς ἐπὶ σοὶ τρέφετο;
οὐκ ᾔδεις; νῦν γνῶθι καλῶν ἄλλαγμα τροφείων, 5
πῦρ ἅμα καὶ ψυχρὰν δεξαμένη χιόνα.
αὐτὴ ταῦθ' εἵλου· φέρε τὸν πόνον· ἄξια πάσχεις
ὧν ἔδρας, ὀπτῷ καιομένη μέλιτι.

My soul, heavily afflicted, now you burn in fire, and now you are refreshed, catching your breath. Why do you weep? When you nursed pitiless Love on your lap, didn't you know that you nursed him to your sorrow? Didn't you know? Well, recognize now the return for your cares, taking fire together with cold snow. You yourself chose this. Bear your labor. You suffer rightly for what you've done, burning from boiling honey.

Emulation of Sappho colors erotic epigram from its beginning. The variety of Asclepiades' allusions to Sappho become an important marker for the evolution of epigram as a more complex art form reading a variety of earlier poetry. Parallels with extant Sappho occur in 2 GP (*AP* 5.85) as compared with Sappho fragment 114 on virginity and its loss, and quite possibly in the invocation of Night as witness to the singer's condition at the opening of 13 GP (*AP* 5.164).[97] Of great interest here is Asclepiades 1 GP (*AP* 5.169), his priamel epigram that may well have stood at the opening of his collected epigrams.[98] While the proximate model for this poem seems likely to be Anyte 18 GP (*APl.* 228),[99] Asclepiades appropriates here to his programmatic epigram both Sappho's priamel form, for which epigram's structure is ideally suited, and something of her subject's presentation. The contrast of opposites is impressive (thirst and drink, winter and spring), as is the shift of referents:

ἡδὺ θέρους διψῶντι χιὼν ποτόν, ἡδὺ δὲ ναύταις
ἐκ χειμῶνος ἰδεῖν εἰαρινὸν Στέφανον.

[96] Pseudo-Longinus, *De Subl.* 10.1–3.
[97] Cf. Sappho fr. 151, ὀφθάλμοις δὲ μέλαις νύκτος ἄωρος.
[98] Guichard 2004: 142; Gutzwiller 1998a: 72, 123.
[99] Gutzwiller 1998a: 72, 74.

ἥδιον δ' ὁπόταν κρύψῃ μία τοὺς φιλέοντας
χλαῖνα, καὶ αἰνῆται Κύπρις ὑπ' ἀμφοτέρων.

Sweet is snow as a drink for one thirsty, and sweet is it for sailors to see spring's crown after a winter's storm. But sweeter still is it when one blanket covers two in love, and Cypris is praised by both.

Nossis in turn echoes this epigram of Asclepiades in her own programmatic opening poem (1 GP = *AP* 5.170):[100]

ἄδιον οὐδὲν ἔρωτος· ἃ δ' ὄλβια, δεύτερα πάντα
ἐστίν· ἀπὸ στόματος δ ἔπτυσα καὶ τὸ μέλι.
τοῦτο λεγει Νοσσίς· τίνα δ' ἀ Κύπρις οὐκ ἐφίλασεν,
οὐκ οἶδεν τήνας τἄνθεα, ποῖα ῥόδα.

Nothing is sweeter than love. Wealth, everything is second. Even honey have I spat out from my mouth. Nossis says this. Whom Cypris loved not, knew not her, and what roses her flowers were.

Nossis's recollection of Asclepiades is a perception of Asclepiades as reader of Sappho. Both Sappho herself and the priamel come to enter the tradition of erotic epigram.

Dioscorides' admiration for Sappho finds both the explicit venue of an epigram celebrating the poet and her poetry (18 GP) and a series of allusions suggesting the adaptability to erotic epigram of Sappho's imagery and its recall. Whereas, in keeping with lyric decorum, Sappho's sexual imagery is to a certain degree implicit,[101] Dioscorides' is far more graphic. His use of his lyric model (or models) in creating this characteristic of his poetry attests both his reading and his variation. A couple of his epigrams interweave lyric models. The influence of both Archilochus's Cologne epode (fr. 196a W) and Sappho fragment 2 resonates in the graphically sexual epigram 5 GP (*AP* 5.55).[102] The configuration of flight, Eros, and the hunt of 8 GP (*AP* 12.169) recalls both Sappho fragment 1 and Anacreon (e.g., frr. 4 and 55 *PMG*).[103] Dioscorides 1.1 GP (*AP* 5.56), ἐκμαίνει χείλη με ῥοδόχροα, ποικιλόμυθα, is an example of his *variatio in imitatione*.

Five of Dioscorides' poems (6, 3, 7, 5, 1 GP) form a small group in Book 5 of the *Palatine Anthology* (*AP* 5.52–56). These are the poems of Dioscorides that show the strongest influence of Sappho, two of which, 6 and 3, happen to

[100] Cf. Gutzwiller 1998a: 72, 76–77.

[101] Winkler 1996: 102, 106.

[102] Dioscorides 5.2 GP: ἄνθεσιν ἐν ≈ Archil. fr. 196a42 W, ἐν ἄνθε[σιν; Dioscorides 5.7 GP, λευκὸν μένος ≈ Archil. fr. 196a52 W, λευκ]ὸν μένος. Recalling the erotic setting of Sappho fr. 2, Dioscorides has transferred the elements of the *locus amoenus*, the flowers, leaves, and breath, from physical landscape to the landscape of Doris's body.

[103] The marked epanalepsis of this epigram (line 2 further defines the first word of line 1; line 3, the last word of line 2) recalls the balance of the sixth stanza of Sappho's poem, καὶ γὰρ αἰ φεύγει etc., where the second part of each line responds to the first.

parallel the themes of Sappho's poetry that Dioscorides cites in his own poem on Sappho (18 GP): 6.5 GP, ὦ Ὑμέναιε (cf. 18.5 GP, ἢ καὶ Ὑμὴν Ὑμέναιος ἔχων εὐφεγγέα πεύκην), and 3.1 GP, φίλ᾽ Ἄδωνι (cf. 18.7–8 GP, ἢ Κινύρεω νέον ἔρνος ὀδυρομένῃ Ἀφροδίτῃ | σύνθρηνος μακάρων ἱερὸν ἄλσος ὁρῇς). Πότνια of the first adonean of fragment 1 is recalled in πότνια of 18.9 GP: one wonders whether by a similar strategy Dioscorides has not also recalled this poem at 1.1 GP, not only in the theme of erotic *mania* (ἐκμαίνει ≈ Sappho fr. 1.18, μαινόλαι θύμωι) but also in recasting Sappho's ποικιλόθρονος as ποικιλόμυθος. Ῥοδόχροος in 1.1 GP may be part of the same imitative strategy. While the word itself does not occur in extant Sappho, Sappho appropriates this type of epic compound in βροδο- in her poetry (cf. fr. 96.8, βροδοδάκτυλος; frr. 58.19, 53, βροδόπαχυς).[104] There is a parallel at Theocritus, *Idyll* 18.31, ῥοδόχρως Ἑλένα, in a poem especially imbued with resonances of Sappho.[105] In a sense Dioscorides' poem on Sappho is unusually programmatic in that his explicit emulation in one poem is mirrored, obliquely, by his frequent imitation in others.

The new Posidippus (*P.Mil.Vogl.* VIII 309) preserves Sappho in epigram in a rather different sense, as a cultural heritage of song sung by young girls and as epigrammatic imitation of choral lyric:

> ‘δακρυόεσσα[ι ἔπεσθε, θε]οῖς ἀνατείνατε πήχεις’,
> τοῦτ᾽ ἐπὶ πα[ιδὸς ἐρεῖτ᾽ αὐ]τ̣όμαται, Καρύαι,
> Τηλεφίης, ἥς [κεῖσθε πρὸ]ς ἠρίον· ἀλλὰ φέρουσαι
> εἴαρι πορφυρέ[ου κλῶν᾽ ἐς ἀ]γῶνα νέμους
> θῆλυ ποδήν[εμον ἔρνος] ἀείδετε, δάκρυσι δ᾽ ὑμέων
> κολλάσθω Σα[πφῶι᾽ ἄισμ]ατα, θεῖα μέλη.

> “In tears follow; stretch up your arms to the gods”: this, Caryan girls, you will say for the girl of your own accord, Telepheia, at whose tomb [you lie]. But in spring bring to the contest a purple bough from the glade, and sing of the swift-footed girl, and let Sappho's divine songs, divine melodies, be joined to your tears.

The original editors of Posidippus 51 AB were hesitant to read lines 5–6, δάκρυσι δ᾽ ὑμέων | κολλάσθω Σα[πφῶι᾽ ἄισμ]ατα, θεῖα μέλη, as referring to the performance, specifically, of Sappho's poetry, and preferred to understand them rather in an analogical sense, “songs worthy of Sappho.” But θεῖα μέλη must specifically refer to Sappho's poetry, as L.Battezzato (2003: 40) argues. Theocritus, *Idyll* 16. 44, θεῖος ἀοιδὸς ὁ Κήιος, which evokes Simonides in the context of his poems, is a striking use of θεῖος to distinguish an earlier poet.[106] The editors'

[104] Imitated by Theocr. 2.148; see above, “Postscript: The New Sappho,” in chapter 1 under subsection 1.1.2; and see Acosta-Hughes 2006.

[105] See above in chapter 1 as referenced in the immediately preceding note.

[106] Cf. also Meleager 1 GP lines 47–48 (interestingly, of Plato); ναὶ μὴν καὶ χρύσειον ἀεὶ θείοιο Πλάτωνος | κλῶνα, “and the golden bough of ever-divine Plato.”

conjecture Cα[πφῶια, which parallels 55.2 AB, Caπφώιους, accords with their interpretation. If we accept W. Lapini's reading (2003: 48 n. 51), Cα[πφοῦc ἄιcμ]ατα, there is no ambiguity.[107]

A second epigram in the same collection, 55 AB, contains a further evocation of the lyric poet in a girl's *epitymbion* (lines 1–3):

> πάντα τὰ Νικομάχης καὶ ἀθύρματα καὶ πρὸς ἑώιαν
> κερκίδα Caπφώιους ἐξ ὀάρων ὀάρους
> ὤιχετο Μοῖρα φέρουca προώρια·
>
> All Nicomache's playthings, all her talk in Sappho's manner at the morning's shuttle, Fate took away too early.

These lines recall the cultural memory of Sappho: girls' playthings, weaving,[108] and discourse.[109] V. Di Benedetto has drawn attention to the poem's opening and its relation to Sappho fragment 104, Ἔcπερε πάντα φέρηιc. The epigram's pathos gains from the recall of Sappho's wedding imagery.[110] As in Nossis 11 GP, Posidippus recalls Sappho as both singer and song, as both lyric tradition and text. This is the conceit of his epigram on Doricha (122 AB), where Sappho is remembered both as poet and text. He effects the same conceit in his other epigrams that recall, in short elegiac couplets, both the content and the occasion of Sappho's songs.[111]

Appendix

The Alexandrian Text(s) of Sappho

> νύκτ[...]. [
> —
> πάρθενοι δ[
> παννυχίcδοι[c]ąι[
> cὰν ἀείδοιç[ι]ν φ[ιλότατα καὶ νύμ-
> φας ἰοκόλπω. 5
> —
> ἀλλ' ἐγέρθęιc ἠΐθ[ε
> cτεῖχε coὶc ὐμάλιχ[ac

[107] Lapini 2003: 48 n. 51. Cf. ἀθύρματα at Sappho frr. 44.9, 63.8; see further Pretagostini 2002: 122.

[108] Cf. Sappho fr. 102.

[109] Ὄαρος is here more likely conversation than song; see Pretagostini 2002: 123–24.

[110] Di Benedetto 2003: 11. Sappho fr. 104.1 is a dactylic hexameter; one wonders whether the final vowel sounds of Αὔως are partially recalled in Posidippus's ἑώιαν.

[111] *Paragraphoi* in *P.Oxy*. 1787 fr. 3 col. II 3–14 and 15–24 (Sappho frr. 62 and 63) mark these fragments in distichs. Both poems are short. This sort of lyric is of special interest as a model for literary epigram.

ἤπερ ὄccον ἀ λιγύφω̣[νοc
ὕπνον [ἴ]δωμεν.

(Sappho fr. 30)

Night (. . .) maidens (. . .) in all-night festivity and sing of your love for the bride with violets in her lap. But rise and go look for young men of your own age (. . .) let us look on as much sleep as does the clear-voiced one.

A *corōnis* in the left margin at the final line of fragment 30 as preserved on a papyrus from Oxyrhynchus (*P.Oxy.* 1231) marks it as the end of the poem; the colophon that follows in the papyrus reads, ΜΕΛΩΝ Α | ΧΗΗΗΔΔ ("Book 1 of the *Songs*, 1,320 [lines]").[112] Book 1 of Sappho consisted entirely of Sapphic stanzas, and so was made up of roughly 330 strophes. The ancient reader, even if we assume considerable variation in the size of the Sappho papyrus rolls, and even if we allow for some uncertainty about the number of these rolls, may well have had more of Sappho than of Apollonius. This possibility is indicative of how little Sappho has survived. Sappho's two poems preserved through citation (frr. 1 and 31: the former is complete; the latter is not) belong to this first book of *melē*. Fragment 1 had a celebrated afterlife as an opening poem. Fragment 31 was a famous poem already in antiquity. Pseudo-Longinus's citation (the sole lyric in *Περὶ ὕψους*), the numerous Hellenistic echoes of these lines, Catullus's translation—all attest to this. Because of these two citations, the modern reader may overestimate both the predominance of the first book in relation to the others and also the predominance of strophic poetry (at least of this four-line configuration) in Sappho's oeuvre. This is another instance where the ancient reader's experience with these texts is so different from our own. The ancient reader of Sappho's Alexandrian edition knew much of her poetry (Books 2–4) in two-line stanzas (fr. 44, the last poem of Book 2, for example) and Sappho as the poet of a large amount of distich poetry. In thinking of the generic relationship of lyric and elegy in this period, this is a factor that we should always bear in mind.[113]

The opening stanzas of the final poem of Book 1 have not survived. But the final lines of both the first and last poems of this book of Sappho's *melē* are extant: cύμμαχοc ἔcco ("be my fellow combatant") and ὕπνον [ἴ]δωμεν ("let us see sleep") are emblematic both of the power of Sappho's metaphors and of her effective use of the adonean to encapsulate the stanza (and indeed the poem).

[112] I follow A. Carson (2002: 61) in the translation of ἰοκόλπω above. The adjective appears to be Sappho's invention, and its use, or variation, in later poetry is meant to recall her. The motif here seems to evoke something more than color: cf. Rodríguez Somolinos 1998: 162; and Winkler 1996: 104–5 on ἐρεύθω.

Λιγύς, (i.e., λιγύφωνος above) like ποικίλος, is an adjective in Sappho that recurs in Hellenistic poetry, often with an aesthetic or programmatic character.

[113] So that even a poem like Ovid, *Heroides* 15 (Sappho to Phaon), is not in some respects visually so different from some of Sappho's poetry.

Fragment 1.28, cύμμαχος ἔcco, captures the whole of the singer's prayer to Aphrodite: fragment 30.9, ὕπνον [ἴ]δωμεν, is a marvelous pointe to a song about all-night revelry.[114] The ordering of the fragmentary poems as we have them places three poems figuring Cypris-Aphrodite in close proximity with one another. This proximity is necessarily conjectural; much may have separated these three poems.[115] A papyrus from Oxyrhynchus (*P.Oxy.* 1231) supplies many of the extant fragments of Book 1 (frr. 16–30). From their ordering it is possible to ascertain something of the *poikilia* of this book, which includes divine, heroic, familial, and amatory figures, as well as a variety of what might be loosely termed generic types among the poems: hymnic, erotic, epithalamian.[116] The juxtaposition of fragment 15 (*P.Oxy.* 1231 fr. 1 col. 1.1–12), which includes the prayer that Sappho's brother not return a second time to Doricha's love, with fragment 16 (*P.Oxy.* 1231 fr. 1 col. 1.13–34), Sappho's priamel with its celebrated transition from heroic to personal, is one telling example. This papyrus includes stops, accents, breathings, marks of long and short syllables, and some marginalia, as well as some barytone Aeolic accents. Intriguingly, the strophes are marked in the left margin with *paragraphoi* and in the right by the shortness of the adonean, an editorial strategy that would appear to allow for different ways of viewing the poems, whether close reading or simply skimming. This strategy suggests multiple uses of the papyrus roll, as for example reading or scholarly and editorial purposes (e.g., quick reference), or both.[117]

Book 2 of the Alexandrian edition was comprised of poems in a meter that Hephaestion (*Ench*. 7.7 p. 23, 14–15 C. = fr. 227 Consbr.) terms the "pentameter called Sapphic fourteen-syllable" (τὸ μὲν πεντάμετρον καλεῖται Caπφικὸν τεccαρεcκαιδεκαcύλλαβον). The final lines of this book are the extant last thirty-four verses of fragment 44 (*The Wedding of Hector and Andromache*). Colophons in the left margins of two Oxyrhynchus papyri (*P.Oxy*. 1232 col. 3 and *P.Oxy*. 2076 col. 2) mark line 34 as the end of Book 2 of Sappho: caπφ[o]ῦ̣ς̣ | μελ. and c̄aπφo[ῦc μελων] | β̄. This poem, at one time contested because of its preponderance of epic forms, may well have found its place at the end of Book 2

[114] See Ferrari 2007: 108–10.

[115] Lobel (1925: xv), from a comparison of the opening lines of fragments of Book 1 preserved by *P.Oxy.* 1231 and *P.Oxy*. 1787, suggested that the poems of Book 1 were arranged in roughly alphabetical order by first line; he posited a similar suggestion (ibid.) for Books 2–4. The opening line of fr. 1, which begins with π (ποικιλόθρον'), as the introductory poem of an entire collection, would be something of an exception.

[116] Fr. 27 is clearly epithalamic in character (e.g., line 8, cτείχομεν γὰρ ἐc γάμον, "for we are going to a wedding"). That there are poems throughout the collection that might be termed epithalamia (fr. 44, *The Wedding of Hector and Andromache*, is another) complicates the idea of a ninth book composed solely of epithalamia, unless the designation is a metrical one. However, only some of the fragments conventionally assigned to this book are metrically homogeneous.

[117] The marginal notations in *P.Mil.Vogl.* VIII 309 may also suggest multiple uses of the papyrus. On the intriguing notation του that occurs next to several of the epigrams, see Johnson 2005: 77; Krevans 2005: 86.

of Sappho with a conscious gesture of acknowledgment to the ending of the final book of the *Iliad*. For line 34, ⌞ὔμνην δ᾽ Ἕκτορα κ᾽ Α⌟νδρομάχαν θεο‹ε›ικέλο[ις ("to hymn godlike Hector and Andromache") at once mythologically prefigures and poetically recalls *Iliad* 24, ὥς οἵ γ᾽ ἀμφίεπον τάφον Ἕκτορος ἱπποδάμοιο ("so they accomplished the funeral of Hector, breaker of horses"). Each poem concludes with an evocation of a religious rite, a civic ceremony, and Hector. Each work also effectively encompasses one poetic form in another, a θρῆνος in the epic hexameter and a wedding hymn within the lyric narrative.

The primary meter of Book 3 of this edition was the greater asclepiad, an expanded glyconic of the metrical shape

xx – ◡ ◡ – – ◡ ◡ – – ◡ ◡ – ◡ –

and termed by Hephaestion (*Ench.* 10.6 p. 34, 11–12 C. = fr. 229) the Sapphic sixteen-syllable (Σαπφικὸν ἑκκαιδεκασύλλαβον). Hephaestion also attests this meter for Alcaeus (ibid.); many fragments of Alcaeus in this meter remain.[118] Theocritus uses it in three of his surviving Aeolic poems (*Idylls* 28, 30, 31). These poems have ties to both Sappho and Alcaeus. Horace uses this meter three times (*Odes* 1.11, 1.18, 4.10), and Catullus once (Catull. 30). The scholiast to Theocritus, *Idyll* 28, appears to cite the opening line of Sappho Book 3's first poem:

ῥοδοπάχεες ἀγναὶ Χάριτες δεῦτε Δίος κόραι ("Hither, rose-armed holy Graces, daughters of Zeus").

If this represents the opening line of Sappho's Book 3, there is a correspondence with the opening poem of Book 1, which also opens with an apostrophe to female divinity.[119] The ordering preference for placing poems associated with divine figures at the opening of poetry books is an aesthetic strategy that we also find in the Alexandrian edition of Alcaeus. Pindar, *Olympian* 1, offers another example.

Only a few other poetic fragments survive that can be assigned with certainty to Book 3. These include an apparent journey of Eros from heaven (fr. 54) and three fragments (frr. 55–57) that detail aesthetic criticism of other female figures. Catullus's choice of the greater asclepiad for *Carmen* 30 ("Alfene immemor") may reflect Sappho's use of this meter for mocking others.[120] Catullus is a close reader of Sappho and of the variety of Sappho's poetry.

[118] Alcaeus frr. 50 and 340–49. Other fragments may be in this meter; see Voigt 1971: 23 C 3 d; Liberman 2002: cxii–xiii.

[119] I discuss Theocritus's possible literary play with this line below in the beginning of the following chapter.

[120] Frr. 55 and 56 in particular seem to be concerned not only with aesthetics but specifically (esp. fr. 56) with the addressee's poetic skill: οὐδ᾽ ἴαν δοκίμωμι προσίδοισαν φάος ἀλίω | ἔσσεσθαι σοφίαν πάρθενον εἰς οὐδένα πω χρόνον | τεαύταν, "I don't believe that a girl on looking on the sun's light will have such wisdom [i.e., poetic skill] at any time to come." The poems, and poets, recalled in Catull. 30 are many, but it's nonetheless worth noting that Sappho fr. 55 is also concerned prominently, albeit differently, with lack of memory or desire.

Hephaestion (*Poem*. 1.2 p. 63.15–24 Consbr. = fr. 228), in a discussion of the "common stanza" (κοινὰ συστηματικά), suggests a conceptualization of the meters of Books 2 and 3 that is important testimony in our understanding of the evolution of the elegiac couplet in the postclassical period:

> κοινὰ δὲ συστηματικά, ἅπερ καὶ ὁ κατὰ στίχον γεγράφθαι φάσκων ὑγιῶς ἂν λέγοι καὶ ὁ κατὰ σύστημα, ὡς τὸ δεύτερον καὶ τρίτον Σαπφοῦς. διὰ μὲν γὰρ τὸ ἐν τοῖς παλαιοῖς ἀντιγράφοις κατὰ δύο ὁρᾶν παραγεγραμμένον ἕκαστον ἄσμα, καὶ ἔτι διὰ τὸ μηδὲν εὑρίσκεσθαι ἀριθμοῦ περιττοῦ, κατὰ συστήματα νομίζομεν αὐτὰ γεγράφθαι· πάλιν δέ, τῷ ὅμοιον ἑκάτερον εἶναι τῶν ἐν τῇ δυάδι στίχων, καὶ τῷ δύνασθαι τὴν ποιήτριαν κατὰ τύχην τινὰ ἀρτίου πάντα ἀριθμοῦ πεποιηκέναι, φαίη τις ἄν κατὰ στίχον αὐτὰ γεγράφθαι. [*Intro. Metr.* p. 59, 7–10]. κοινὰ δὲ ὅσα ὑπὸ συστήματος μὲν καταμετρεῖται, αὐτὸ δὲ τὸ σύστημα ἔχει πληρούμενον, οἷά ἐστι τὰ ἐν τῷ δευτέρῳ καὶ τρίτῳ Σάπφους· ἐν οἷς καταμετρεῖται μὲν ὑπὸ διστιχίας, αὐτὴ δὲ ἡ διστιχία ὁμοία ἐστι.
>
> The common systems [i.e., stanzas] one might correctly define saying they are composed line by line and in stanzas, such as the second and third books of Sappho. For in the ancient copies we observe each song marked with a *paragraphos* every two lines, and further we do not find odd numbers of lines—and so we consider them composed by stanza. Alternatively, each of the lines in the couplet is [metrically] like the other, and it is possibly by chance that the poet made all the songs of an even number, so one might say that they were written line by line. Common too are those measured by stanza, but each stanza is complete, such as in the second and third books of Sappho. For in these the poems are measured in distichs, but each distich is of two similar lines.

Modern reading of Sappho is understandably informed by the ordering of Sappho's fragments by book and accident of survival. In our reading of our modern (codex-derived) Greek text, the fragments in Sapphic stanzas come first. The transition from papyrus roll to papyrus codex has created a hierarchy of texts. One selection now comes first, and in turn some selections come before others.[121] The preservation by citation of fragments 1 and 31 has further left proportionally more Sapphic stanzas surviving than any other of her poetic forms. We have no way of knowing the original length of Books 2 and 3. Certainly the ancient reader, whose selection of papyrus rolls was far less programmed than our sequence of book pages, may well not have thought of Sappho's poetry as primarily composed in Sapphic stanzas. He may have associated it with distichs just as easily.

[121] Some scholars doubt that there could ever have been an ordering of papyrus rolls in terms of authorial intent and readership; see Knox 1985: 59–60. I have argued elsewhere (Acosta-Hughes 2003: 484) that such an ordering is indeed possible, but the issue of hierarchy is certainly different.

No ancient attestation survives that specifically names Book 4. One papyrus from Oxyrhynchus (*P.Oxy.* 1787) contains several fragments that appear for the most part to be in the metrical form[122]

x –⏑⏑– / –⏑⏑– / –⏑⏑– / ⏑– x

or a hipponactean with double choriambic expansion.[123] Observing that this papyrus (*P.Oxy.* 1787) appears to be from a metrically homogeneous book, D. L. Page concluded that it held fragments of Book 4 of Sappho's *melē*. (Books 1–3 are metrically homogeneous; Book 5, for which there does exist ancient attestation, is not; and the metrically heterogeneous would logically follow those of one sustained meter.) Page's conclusion is not unreasonable, but it is still conjectural.[124]

Book 5 is metrically varied. The fragments of this book also contain some of Sappho's most unusual imagery of color and material: for example, fragment 92.7, κροκοεντα[("saffron-colored"); fragment 96.8, βροδοδάκτυλος ‹σελάννα› ("rose-fingered moon"); fragment 98.6–7 ξανθοτέρα‹ι›ς ἔχη[| τα‹ὶ›ς κόμα‹ι›ς δάϊδος ("[but she who] has hair more yellow than a firebrand"). The color term πόρφυρος occurs repeatedly in these fragments. Two meters appear to have predominated in this book: the phalaecian hendecasyllable and the shorter asclepiad.[125] The citation of Caesius Bassius that attests the phalaecians clearly points to metrical heterogeneity: "(hendecasyllabus phalaecius) apud Sappho frequens est, cuius quinto libro complures huius generis et continuati et dispersi leguntur." (The phalaecian hendecasyllable) occurs often in Sappho, in whose fifth book we read many examples of this metrical type, in both sequential and nonsequential poems.) The other surviving citations of Book 5 also suggest metrical heterogeneity. Pollux cites one line (fr. 100) of uncertain meter from this book, and Athenaeus cites a fragment (9.410d, fr. 101) in glyconics, which has a third line in extended glyconics, from this book as well. A papyrus in Berlin (*P.Berol.* 9722) also provides a longer fragment in this metrical pattern

[122] Sappho frr. 58–85; fr. 58 has now been expanded by *P.Köln* Inv. Nr. 21351.

[123] The complete preserved lines that fit this metrical pattern are frr. 58.14, 26; 81.4–7; 91. For a list of all the lines that can be supplemented in this meter, see Voigt 1971: 19 C 3 k.

[124] It is slightly troubling that Hephaestion, who discusses Sappho's use of this meter (p. 36 Consbr.) does not mention the fourth book; he often does give the number of the book in which a particular metrical form predominates (as he does for Books 1, 3, and 7).

[125] The phalaecian hendecasyllable—

xx–⏑⏑–⏑⏑–⏑–x

—is favored by Catullus in the polymetrics, and also occurs in some Hellenistic contexts, primarily sepulchral epigram. This is also the meter of Callim. fr. 226. The shorter asclepiad is the metrical line

xx –⏑⏑– –⏑⏑–⏑–.

Fortunatus, *Gr. Lat.* 295.21 Keil: "Sappho hoc integro usa est libro quinto."

(fr. 94). Other fragments provided by this papyrus are in phalaecians. (Fragments 95.11 and 96.5, 8, 11, and 14 are complete phalaecians.) The surviving fragments of this book appear to be in three-line stanzas. There is thus a pattern of ordering in terms of stanza shape as well: Book 1 in four-line stanzas; Books 2–4 in two-line stanzas; Book 5 in three-line stanzas.

There is no surviving testimony for Book 6 of the Alexandrian edition (or editions). The attestation of a seventh book presumes a sixth, but nothing is known of either the meter (or meters) or the thematic content of the sixth. For the seventh book there is only the attestation of Hephaestion, a slightly corrupt passage (*Ench*. 10.5, p. 34, 6–10 Consbr.) on "antispastic" meter that includes the only two lines cited for this book (fr. 102): γλυκῆα μᾶτερ, οὔ τοι δύναμι κρέκην τὸν ἴστον | πόθωι δάμεισα παῖδος βραδίναν δι' Ἀφροδίταν.[126] ("sweet mother, you know, I can't weave at my loom, for I'm overcome with longing for a child, slender Aphrodite's doing"). There are two pieces of evidence for an eighth book of Sappho's *melē*, a reference in Photius's *Bibliotheca* and a conjecture to an editorial comment in an Oxyrhynchus papyrus (*P.Oxy.* 2294). Both are somewhat problematic. The latter I discuss immediately below in conjunction with the question of a ninth book. The Photius reference is from his summary (*Bibl*. 161 p. 103[a]35–41 Bekk.) of the sources of the sophist Sopater's second book of *Ἐκλογαί διάφοροι* (*Varied Extracts*).

> Ὁ δὲ δεύτερος ἔκ τε τῶν Συτηρίδα Παμφίλης ἐπιτομῶν πρώτου λόγου καὶ καθεξῆς μέχρι τοῦ δεκάτου καὶ ἐκ τῶν Ἀρτέμωνος τοῦ Μάγνητος τῶν κατ' ἀρετὴν γυναιξὶ πεπραγματευμένων διηγημάτων, ἔτι δὲ καὶ ἐκ τῶν Διογένους τοῦ κυνικοῦ ἀποφθεγμάτων, καὶ μὴν καὶ ἐξ ἄλλων διαφόρων, ἀλλά γε καὶ ἀπὸ ὀγδόου λόγου τῆς Σαπφοῦς· ἐν οἷς καὶ ἡ δευτέρα βίβλος τῶν συλλογῶν.
>
> The second takes its material from Books 1–10 of the *Summaries* of Pamphila daughter of Soteridas, from the *Narratives of Outstanding Deeds Done by Women* of Artemnus of Magnesia, also from the *Apophthegms* of Diogenes the Cynic, from various other sources, and in particular from the eighth *logos* of Sappho. In these consisted the second book of the collections.

[126] Ἔστι δὲ πύκνὸν καὶ τὸ τὴν δευτέραν μόνην ἀνισπαστικὴν ἔχον, ᾧ μέτρῳ ἔγραψεν ἄσματα καὶ Σαπφὼ ἐπὶ †τῆς τοῦ ἑβδόμου (fr. 102). Bergk conjectures τ‹έλευτ›ης τοῦ for the problematic τῆς τοῦ, i.e., "at the end of her seventh [book]," which would suggest that the book was polymetric (and, of course, that these are not the book's opening lines).

Παῖδος in the second line is conventionally rendered "boy," but I am unsure here. The evocation is clearly erotic, but I am not sure that it is necessarily heterosexual; for παῖς in Sappho of girls, cf. frr. 49, 155. As E. Magnelli has pointed out to me, taking παῖς here as feminine is all the more likely if the mother is Sappho, and the speaking voice belongs to one of the young girls associated with her. On the Bochum Crater (480/70 BCE) ΠΑΙC is inscribed over the girl who appears on the reverse side of the Sappho depiction. See Ferrari 2007: 100–103; cf. Yatromanolakis 2005: 18–19.

The reference to the eighth λόγος of Sappho is perplexing. It appears that this book of Sopater was concerned primarily with female figures;[127] no other lyric poet is mentioned in Photius in association with Sopater. The manner of Photius's reference to Sappho suggests either emphasis or afterthought, and the reference may be remembered rather than immediate.[128] More problematic is the overall absence of lyric poets in the *Bibliotheca*;[129] Sappho is one of two in the entire work,[130] and, further, this is the only reference to Sappho in extant Byzantine literature of the seventh through the tenth centuries. The latest extant witness of an edition of Sappho is the Berlin papyrus mentioned above (*P.Berol*. 9722), which dates to the sixth century at the latest. Otherwise Sappho appears known, if at all, by citation from other works.[131] There is no compelling evidence that Photius himself read lyric poetry. Further, while λόγος is one of the standard terms in the *Bibliotheca* for a book, and is indeed a standard term over a wide period of time for an individual book of a hexameter poem,[132] there is less evidence for this term used to mean a book of collected poems.[133]

Throughout most Sappho scholarship, and particularly following the publication of D. L. Page's authoritative *Sappho and Alcaeus* (1955), it has been widely assumed that the Alexandrian edition of Sappho consisted of nine books of *melē*, and, following Page, that the ninth was a book of epithalamia. This remains the received wisdom at the time of this writing. In a 1999 study, D. Yatromanolakis raised serious grounds for doubting the existence of a ninth book of the Alexandrian edition or editions, and his study certainly renders a reexamination of the evidence desirable. The primary attestation for nine books is an enigmatic epigram of Tullius Laurea (*AP* 7.717, 1 GP *Garland*), believed to be

[127] See Wilson 1994: 143, 146 nn. 5–7.

[128] On the problem of Photius's sources, see Henry in his introductory comments to his edition (1959: xxiii).

[129] See Wilson 1994: 7, 10.

[130] The other also appears in the Sopater entry (104[b]), a description of an abridgment of writings of Plutarch that include a life of Pindar, now lost. And a life is not a poem, nor either a book of poems.

[131] See Pontani 2001, arguing that Sappho in the later Byzantine period becomes essentially a trope rather than an actual collection of poems familiar to those who evoke her.

[132] E.g., the *logoi* of Quintus of Smyrna's hexameter *Oἱ μεθ' Ὅμηρον λόγοι*. Hermesianax uses the same term (fr. 7.25–26 Powell) of Hesiod's *Eoiai,* πάσας δὲ λόγων ἀνεγράψατο βίβλους | ὑμνῶν, "and he inscribed all the scrolls of his *logoi* as he sang," where λόγος must mean the individual episodes of the hexameter poem.

[133] Aristotle uses this term (though only) twice in the *Poetics* (1450[b]6, 9) of the speeches in tragedy. I have wondered, particularly with the Hermesianax parallel (above, note 132), whether Photius might by λόγος here mean an individual poem, understood as an extended first-person narrative utterance. The lack of parallel references to lyric poets in the *Bibliotheca* problematizes such an interpretation, which seems on balance unlikely. Photius may well not have distinguished books of lyric poetry and individual books of hexameter verse.

Cicero's freedman.[134] I give the text and translation of this poem as they appear in Gow and Page's 1968 edition:

Αἰολικὸν παρὰ τύμβον ἰών, ξένε, μή με θανοῦσαν
τὰν Μιτυλαναίαν ἔννεπ' ἀοιδοπόλον·
τόνδε γὰρ ἀνθρώπων ἔκαμον χέρες, ἔργα δὲ φωτῶν
ἐς ταχινὴν ἔρρει τοιάδε ληθεδόνα·
ἢν δέ με Μουσάων ἐτάσηις χάριν, ὤν ἀφ' ἑκάστης
δαίμονος ἄνθος ἐμῆι θῆκα παρ' ἐννεάδι,
γνώσεαι ὡς Ἀίδεω σκότον ἔκφυγον, οὐδέ τις ἔσται
τῆς λυρικῆς Σαπφοῦς νώνυμος ἠέλιος.

Passing by the Aeolian tomb, stranger, say not that I, the poetess of Mytilene, am dead. This was built by men's hands; and such works of mortals pass into swift oblivion. But if you judge me by the Muses—from whom, of each goddess, I set a flower by my nine—you shall know that I escaped the darkness of Hades, and there shall never be a day that does not name Sappho the lyric poetess.

This poem raises several problems. I highlight here only those that concern lines 5–6, the testimonium for Sappho Book 9. Line 5, ἢν δέ με Μουσάων ἐτάσηις χάριν, is not an easy way of expressing "if you judge me by my song."[135] The Muses are frequently nine in number already in Homer (*Od*. 24.60, Μοῦσαι δ' ἐννέα πᾶσαι ἀμειβόμεναι ὀπὶ καλῇ), and Sappho is elsewhere associated with the nine Muses; but the specifying of individual Muses suggested by ἑκάστης | δαίμονος is disquieting. Would this involve nine named but otherwise unspecified Muses, or Muses specified by poetic art? The real problem is the sense of line 6, ἄνθος ἐμῆι θῆκα παρ' ἐννεάδι. Here ἄνθος may be partially a recollection of the imagery of (say) the opening poem of Meleager's *Garland*. But how the epigram's author intends ἐννεάδι is not in fact all that clear—the reading "I set a flower by my nine [books]" is predicated on the assumption that there were, at least by the time of this epigram's author, nine books of Sappho. Nor is δαίμονος after Μουσάων all that comfortable an antithesis; nor, indeed, is the image of each Muse informing a book of Sappho all that obvious.

Sappho is associated with the nine Muses in a long epigrammatic tradition; indeed Sappho as the tenth Muse becomes something of a topos.[136] It may well be this epigrammatic tradition that the author of *AP* 7.717, thought to be Tullius Laurea, is attempting to evoke here.[137] One possibility put forward by Yatro-

[134] This is not, however, certain: see Gow and Page 1968: II 461–62.

[135] Perhaps something more literal, as, e.g., "if you judge me in terms of the grace I have from the Muses"? M. Cuypers has suggested (in discussion with the author) "if you judge that, with respect to *charis*, I am one of the Muses."

[136] See Barbantani 1993: 28–46 passim.

[137] Cf. Pseudo-Plato *AP* 9.506, Dioscorides 18 GP; Antipater of Sidon 11 GP, 12 GP; *AP* 9.521, 9.571.7–8.

manolakis is that the author of this epigram may be including in his imaged edition of Sappho the epigrams attributed to her in the Hellenistic period.[138] Another reading of this epigram might suggest that it is a sepulchral monument that the epigram evokes here, with Sappho set alongside the nine Muses (ἐμῆι θῆκα παρ' | ἐννεάδι).

In general, I am inclined to agree with Yatromanolakis that the Laurea epigram cannot be taken as a trustworthy attestation.[139] The *Suda* reference C 107, Σαπφώ (fr. 235) reads in part: ἔγραψε δὲ μελῶν λυρικῶν βιβλίων θ′. καὶ πρώτη πλῆκτρον εὗρεν. ἔγραψε δὲ καὶ ἐπιγράμματα καὶ ἐλεγεῖα καὶ ἴαμβους καὶ μονῳδίας ("she wrote nine books of lyric *melē*, and was the first to invent the *plēktron;* and she also wrote epigrams and elegies and iambi and monodies"). The *Suda* entry, written much later, we can now conclude, presupposes a canonical tradition of nine books. Θ' in the *Suda* is nine, but it may have been misunderstood earlier.[140] The other poetic genres listed in the *Suda* entail their own interpretive problems;[141] μονῳδίαι may be rather the referent to Photius's ὀγδόοc λόγοc. Even if θ' here is meant to represent the number nine, this last might still designate the epigrams attributed to Sappho, now misplaced at the end of the selection as a separate book.

A ninth book of Sappho's *melē* is also partly predicated on the assumption that Sappho's Alexandrian edition included a book of epithalamia.[142] This is not necessarily an obvious assumption. Epithalamia are usually hexameter, as are indeed many of the fragments conventionally assigned to this book. This complicates their original inclusion in a collection of *melē* (although, like a book of epigrams, these could come to be associated with books of *melē*). Two sources have informed this assumption. The first is a comment of Servius to Virgil, *Georgics* 1.31: "Sappho, quae in libro qui inscribitur ἐπιθαλάμια ait χαῖρε νύμφα χαῖρε τίμιε γάμβρε πόλλα." The second is a restored reading in an Oxyrhynchus papyrus (*P.Oxy.* 2294) and its attendant interpretation:[143]

. . .
] . ῳ[
]ϛαν ἐν τῶι .[
]. δὲ (δέκα) κ(αὶ) ἑκάστης ὁ (πρῶτος)[
]. εν τὸ γὰρ ἐννεπε[.]η προβ[
]. ατε τὰν εὔποδα νύμφαν [5

[138] Yatromanolakis 1999: 183, 185–86; the epigrams in the *Greek Anthology* attributed to Sappho are *AP* 6.269, 7.489, and 7.505.

[139] Yatromanolakis 1999: 182–84.

[140] Lobel 1925: xiv–xv.

[141] See Yatromanolakis 1999: 185–87.

[142] See Ferrari 2007: 114–16.

[143] The text printed here is Voigt's, but the layout with both commentary and lines of verse is from Lobel and Page 1955.

]τα παῖδα Κ̣ρ̣ο̣νίδα τὰν ἰόκ[ολπ]ον [
]. ς ὄργαν θεμένα τὰν ἰόκ[ολ]π̣ος α[
] . . ἄγναι Χάριτες Πιέριδέ[c τε] Μ̣οῖ[cαι
].[. ὀ]π̣π̣οτ᾽ ἀοιδαι φρ̣έ̣ν[...]αν .[
]ς̣αιοισα λιγύραν [ἀοί]δαν 10
γά]μβρον, ἄcαροι γὰρ̣ ὐ̣μαλικ[
]cε φόβαισι θεμένα λύρα .[
] . .η χρυcοπέδιλ‹λ›[ο]c Αὔως [
] ÷ cτίχ(οι) ρλ̄ [ ]
] μετὰ τὴν πρώτην [15
]φέρονται ἐπιγεγρα[
ἐπιθα]λάμ ιᾱ
] βυβλίου καὶ βέλτ⟦ε⟧ι̣ο̣[ν
]
]ροπ . . . . [..]. ε . [20
. . .

In his discussion of this fragment, Page suggested that these were the opening lines of the ten poems (line 3,]. δὲ (δέκα) κ(αὶ) ἑκάcτης ὁ (πρῶτος)[ ) of Book 8 (assuming the uncertain letter at the beginning of line 14 is an η (8).[144] This is predicated (at least in part) on the existence of an eighth book. The number 130 (line 14, ρλ[ ) would then be the number of lines of this book. In line 17 ἐπιθα]λάμια would then be the title of a new book, Book 9 of Sappho, which unlike the earlier books was marked with a specific title to denote its contents. Doubts were raised early on about the number of lines this scenario posited for Book 8, which would be very small.[145] Recently Yatromanolakis has argued that the incipits are not the opening lines of all the poems of this book, but rather of a selection of incipits. As he succinctly observes, one papyrus in the University of Michigan's collection (*P.Mich*. inv. 3498[r]), a list of incipits of three poets, Sappho, Alcaeus, and Anacreon, gives solid evidence of such a select list, perhaps composed for anthologizing. We should, however, note the difference between a list of incipits of several authors,[146] and such a list of a single book of a single author.[147]

[144] Page 1955: 116–19. In their papyrological commentary, Lobel and Page (1955: 85) suggest this may be an η or an ι. Yatromanolakis (1999: 190 n. 46) prefers an η.

[145] See Lasserre 1955: 470; Treu 1954: 167–68. Assuming a usual column length of ca. forty lines, we would be looking at a book of 4+ columns.

[146] What we also apparently have with the unpublished Vienna epigram incipits (*P. Vindob*. G 40611, a list of about 240 epigram incipits).

[147] Even in their fragmentary state, the verses show a certain amount of repetition in vocabulary (e.g., 6–7, τὰν ἰόκ[ολπ]ον/τὰν ἰόκ[ολ]π̣ος; 9–10, ἀοιδαι/[ἀοί]δαν; 7–12, θεμένα/θεμένα) that would seem to make their being the opening lines of sequential poems rather unlikely. In a sense Gallavotti's skepticism about the authenticity of these lines (1962: 165), if exaggerated, is on to something about their character when read together. Extant Sappho is not generally repetitive like this.

A more recent papyrus find, the Milan Posidippus (*P.Mil.Vogl.* VIII 309), offers another possibility. The epigrams on this papyrus are organized by thematic section. Each section is given a title (*oiōnoskopika, epitymbia, hippika,* etc.). The scribe of this papyrus marks the number of lines he copies by section. One hundred thirty is far more likely as the number of lines in a section of a papyrus roll.[148] Further, the thematic organization of the Milan Posidippus (*P.Mil. Vogl.* VIII 309) is not absolute: that is, the titles characterized the sections generally, but a number of epigrams find themselves in one category when they might just as easily be in another.

In conclusion, we can ascertain with some degree of certainty that the Alexandrian edition, or editions, of Sappho comprised at least seven books, that these were largely organized by meter, and that there was a fair amount of thematic variation throughout.[149] The extant Sappho papyri reveal other details of later readership and appreciation. A few examples: a papyrus now in Cologne (*P.Köln* II 61 fr. a), a fragment of a Sappho commentary, includes some citation from Sappho (there may be more Sappho than is immediately apparent) and some commentary. The commentator seems already aware of a tradition that Sappho was an educator of sorts: ἡ δ' ἐφ' ἡσυχίας παιδεύουσα τὰς ἀρίστας οὐ μόνον τῶν ἐγχωρίων ἀλλὰ καὶ τῶν ἀπ' Ἰωνίας καὶ ἐν τοσαύτηι παρὰ τοῖς πολείταις ἀποδοχῆι ὥστ' ἔφη Καλλίας ὁ Μυτιληναῖος ἐν [.]. . .[. . . .].[. [. .] Ἀφροδει "But in peace she educated the best girls, not only of the locals but of the Ionians, and Callias the Mytilenean says she was in such favor among the citizenry in . . . "). Παιδεύουσα here can have a number of senses related to education. It need not support the conceptualization of Sappho as schoolmistress that arose at the turn of the twentieth century, but some reading of Sappho in an educative role occurred fairly early.[150] The commentator underlines Sappho's cosmopolitanism, a feature that aligns her with other sage figures. The phrase ἐφ' ἡσυχίας presumably means "in times of no *stasis.*"[151]

Another Oxyrhynchus papyrus (*P.Oxy.* 2292) preserves Sappho fragment 213:

]. . [.]. τ. . . [
. . . [..]. ϲε εμα κἈρχεάνα[ϲ-
ϲα Γόργω‹. › σύνδυγο(ϲ)· ἀῠτὶ τοῦ
ϛ[ύν]ζυξ· ἡ Πλειστοδίκη
τ]ῆι Γ[ο]ῤγοῖ σύνζυξ μ̣ε- 5
τ̣ὰ τ̣[ῆϲ] Γογγύλης ὀν[ο]μαϲθή-
ϲετ[αι·]κ̣οινὸν γὰρ τὸ ὄνο-

[148] The first extant section (the *lithika*), of which we may not have the beginning, has 126 lines; the *epitymbia* has 116.

[149] Five are certain. Book 7 is attested only by the Hephaestion passage discussed above.

[150] See Parker 1996; Parker is perhaps a little too quick, though, to dismiss this testimony (ibid. 156–57).

[151] Perhaps in the spirit of Pind. *Pyth.* 8, e.g.

μ[α ᾽]ἐδ᾽ο᾽ται ἢ κατὰ τῆς[.]. . .
᾽α[...] Πλ[ε]ι᾽ς᾽τοδίκη[..]ν
ὀνομ]᾽α᾽cθήᾳ᾽cε᾽τ[αι] κυ-
]ῃ[ ]. α᾽τ᾽ε᾽τουτ
]. νο᾽ αν

(. . .) my (. . .) and Archeanassa yokemate of Gorgo. cύνδυγοc instead of cύνζυξ. Pleistodice will be named yokemate of Gorgo with Gongyla; for the name given is her common one or according to (. . .) Pleistodice (. . .) will be called *kyria*? (. . .)

The fragment includes Aeolic forms and vocabulary, although δυγόc (line 3, cύνδυγοc) is Boeotian. If a mistake of the commentator, perhaps this indicates little knowledge of Aeolic. It has been suggested that Ἀρχεάνα[c]cα is an adjective ("Archeanid") rather than a noun, which would give a better sense to the apparent alternative explanations that these lines seem to offer.[152] The image of the homosexual union in cύνδυγοc finds a striking Hellenistic parallel in one of Theocritus's Aeolic poems, *Idyll* 30.28–29, καὶ νῦν, εἴτ᾽ ἐθέλω, χρή με μάκρον σχόντα τὸν ἄμφενα | ἕλκην τὸν ζύγον, εἴτ᾽ οὐκ ἐθέλω, where the image of yoking (here in an Aeolic poem) is used of two men.[153] There are, as we will see, several such vibrant images in Sappho that recur, in altered but recognizable form, in the lines of Alexandrian poets who read her.

[152] A. Verhoogt suggested this to me in working together on our article "Readers of Ancient Lyric." Cf. Treu 1954: 166. Calame (1996: 116 n. 13) assumes Archeanassa is a person here and in the fragmentary text of Sappho fr. 103 C 4.

[153] See further below in the unnumbered, untitled introductory section to chapter 3. Theocr. 13.21, σὺν δ᾽αὐτῷ κατέβαινεν Ὕλας εὔεδρον ἐς Ἀργώ, "with him [*sc*. Heracles] Hylas went down to the well-benched *Argo,*" and 13.32, ἐκβάντες δ᾽ ἐπὶ θῖνα κατὰ ζυγὰ δαῖτα πένοντο, "going onto the beach they took their dinner in pairs," provide an intriguing parallel in that the image here is at once erotic and appropriate to this seafaring context.

CHAPTER 3

Alcaeus

VOICE AND METAPHOR OF THE SYMPOSIUM

The Hellenistic perception of Alcaeus is far more oblique than is the case with Sappho. Several factors contribute to this variance in their reception. Much of extant Alcaeus comes from his stasiotic poetry, poetry of local civic strife and warring political factions. This poetry would have had little appeal to the major surviving Hellenistic poets and their readers. Alcaeus's erotic and symposiastic poetry, now all but entirely lost, was more appealing, if we may judge from the meager testimony that we have on Alcaeus's reputation. Further, Sappho and Alcaeus come to be collapsed together as one Aeolic tradition, Sappho's generally the voice more frequently cited. In the progress of Sappho's reception it is rather the poet Anacreon with whom she comes to be associated; the prominent place of both Sappho and Anacreon in Meleager's *Garland* (fr. 1 GP) and the corresponding absence of Alcaeus are emblematic of a larger development in the evaluation of these poets.[1] There are no discernible traces of Alcaeus in Apollonius's *Argonautica*. The possible parallels with Callimachus are few and not easy to sustain, though they hold some real interest. Theocritus is the best witness to later reading of Alcaeus, yet his Aeolic *Idylls*, a confluence of both his models, Sappho and Alcaeus, evoke the very same erotic and symposiastic image of Alcaeus's poetry that is now only faintly visible.

Our own reading of Alcaeus privileges the political and social world of the Archaic polis (for which Alcaeus is one of our few contemporary sources), and so necessarily impedes our imagining how the Alexandrians read him. The *hetaireia*, personal insults, and spirited exhortations that capture the attention of the modern reader in isolated poetic fragments would have looked very different in book form. Further, our later reading of this reception is one that is necessarily predetermined by our own expectations of the Archaic poet. In part we search for the categories that have become embedded in our own reception, be these through narratives of Greek sociohistory or literature, or our own creation of a figure of the poet through our reading of his work. The situation is analogous in some ways to the Victorians' and, subsequently, our portrayals of Sappho.[2] Artistic representations of Alcaeus are revealing here. Lawrence Alma-Tadema's pictorial fancy *Sappho and Alcaeus* (1881) is a striking example of a

[1] The Alcaeus of line 13 of this poem is the epigrammatist Alcaeus of Messene.

[2] Prins's *Victorian Sappho* (1999) is a paradigmatic reading of this process.

later configuration, for both its interest in and its (mis)representation of earlier culture. The apparent references of Sappho and Alcaeus to one another in their respective extant verse become a jointure in Alma-Tadema's vision of *thiasos* and *symposion*: Alcaeus now reads for an attentive Sappho and her friends,[3] and he has been subsumed into her world.

When the poets of the early Hellenistic period engage with Alcaeus, they, in turn, come into contact with a figure already the object of a multileveled reception in later poetic forms, philosophical discourse on poets and poetry, and local history of Mytilene. Alcaeus is an example of the complex evolution of figures of cultural memorialization and artistic metaphor. This evolution continues in third-century Alexandria and beyond, into Horatian ode. The present chapter, in tracking this evolution, is both shorter and more tentative than the previous two, on Sappho's later reception, because there remain fewer traces of Alcaeus in extant Hellenistic poetry. I begin with Theocritus's Aeolic poems, their citation of Alcaeus and recollection of Alcaeus's symposium, and Theocritus's assumption of an Alcaic voice. The chapter then turns to the parallels between the poetry of Alcaeus and of Callimachus. As a recapitulation of the principal arguments on Alcaeus's later reception, I close briefly with Horace, and Horace's configuration of the earlier lyric singer. An appendix on the Alexandrian edition of Alcaeus follows at the chapter's end.

At the outset of this discussion, however, there are a few features of Alcaeus's life and work well worth bearing in mind when considering his Alexandrian readership.

1. Like his contemporary Aeolic poet Sappho, Alcaeus is associated already in his own lifetime with Egypt.[4] In their engagement with Pindar's Cyrene and the Egypt of Alcaeus and Sappho's brother Charaxus, the Alexandrians came into contact, at least at one level, with an earlier poetic Hellenization of Egypt.[5]

2. Alcaeus's lyrics reconfigure the themes and motifs of hexameter verse (whether epic or hymns) in a lyric mode. Fragment 283 is one example. This creative facility would have resonated with Hellenistic poetics and is itself given to generic reconfiguration. Alcaeus's lyric celebrations of heroic weddings, his treatments of the childhood or youth of gods and also of cult foundations all prefigure later Alexandrian compositions.

[3] See Prins 1999: 56 n. 18.

[4] Str. 1.2.30 (1, 55 Kr.), τὸ δὲ πλείοσι στόμασιν ἐκδιδόναι (sc. ὥσπερ ὁ Νεῖλος) κοινὸν καὶ πλειόνων, ὥστ' οὐκ ἄξιον μνήμης ὑπέλαβε . . . καθάπερ οὐδ' Ἀλκαῖος, καίτοι φήσας ἀφῖχθαι καὶ αὐτὸς εἰς Αἴγυπτον, "to discharge with many mouths (as the Nile) is a common trait of many rivers, so that [*sc.* Homer] did not think worth mentioning . . . just as Alcaeus did not, though he affirms that he himself went to Egypt." This appears to refer to the period of Alcaeus's second exile from Mytilene: cf. Page 1955: 223; Liberman 2002: II 259 n. 387.

[5] The phrase is derived from P. Vasunia's (2001) title, *The Gift of the Nile: Hellenizing Egypt from Aeschylus to Alexander*. On the configuration of an earlier Hellenized Egypt in Hellenistic poetry, see Stephens 2002: 246–54, 261–62; and Stephens 2003, esp. chap. 4 on *Argonautica* 4.

3. Alcaeus's symposiastic lyric, whose poetic form itself does not seem to have found wide imitation in the Hellenistic period (though there may be some intriguing exceptions: e.g., Callimachus frr. 226, 227), still could serve as an important model for the evolving genre of symposiastic epigram. And Alcaeus himself, as his reputation in later literature and literary criticism attests, becomes a metaphor for a pederastic symposiastic tradition.

4. Broken lines preserved by one papyrus from Oxyrhynchus (*P.Oxy*. 1234 fr. 6 = fr. 75) retain imagery of memory and of poetic childhood, prefiguring the development of this imagery in Hellenistic poetry, especially in Callimachus: lines 7–9, μέ]μανιμ'· ἔτι γὰρ πάις |] . cμῖκρ[ο]c ἐπίcδανον |]ν οἶδα τιμ. [.]. ("I remember; for yet a child (. . .) though small I sat (. . .) now? I know"), create a discursive canvas of age, memory, and realization that seems to prefigure Callimachus's poetic synthesis of these elements in (for example) *Aetia* fragment 1.

3.1. Theocritus's Aeolic *Paidika*

A papyrus codex from the Antinoite nome dated to the third century CE, a manuscript of Theocritus, has four poems (*Idylls* 28–31) in Aeolic dialect.[6] This papyrus preserves the title *Παιδικὰ Αἰολικά* for *Idyll* 30. The later codices that contain parts of these poems confirm that title,[7] which, by whatever hand it was inscribed, turns out to have a multilayered meaning. Not only are these poems in Aeolic dialect—in itself remarkable for a third-century poet from Syracuse pursuing an artistic calling in Alexandria—but they also attest to a complex artistic relationship with the two great poetic voices of the Aeolic past, Sappho and, especially, Alcaeus. In her study of the artistic arrangement of this codex, K. Gutzwiller suggests that the codex is the amalgamation of material from three separate original papyrus rolls, the third of which (C) began with *Idylls* 28, 29, 30, 31, and 22. In other words, it was a papyrus roll that opened with four poems in Aeolic, four poems in meters associated with Aeolic poets (*Id*. 28, 30, and 31 are in greater asclepiads; *Id*. 29 in Sapphic fourteen-syllable,

[6] *P.Antinoae*, first edited by Hunt and Johnson 1930. See further Gow 1952: I xlix–l. See further on this papyrus Sens 1997: 50; Gutzwiller 1996: 139–42. *P.Oxy*. 3551, published subsequent to Gow's edition, preserves *Idyll* 28; see Gutzwiller 1996: 141 n. 67. As Hunter (1996: 172) observes, this is an "artful" Aeolic, as may be the dialect of Callim. *Iambus* 7.

[7] *Idyll* 29: Παιδ[in the Antin. pap.; *Παιδικὰ Αἰολικά* in *cod. Ambrosianus* 104, *cod. Vaticanus* 913. *Idyll* 30: *Παιδικὰ Αἰολικά* in the Antin. pap. and *cod. Ambrosianus* 104; no title is preserved for *Idyll* 31. Ca. 1500 CE. J. Lascaris recorded seeing at Mt. Athos a manuscript that contained *Idylls* 24, 26, and 30, in which *Idyll* 30 was entitled *Παιδικὰ Συρακούσια*; see further Gow 1952: I lv n. 3, II 511. The title given in two codices (*cod. Ambrosianus* 104 and *Paris. gr*. 2726) for *Idyll* 28, *Ἀλακάτα παιδικὰ Αἰολικά*, appears to be a mistaken conflation of the subject of this poem and the title given to the subsequent Aeolic poems. On the evolution of the title *Παιδικὰ Αἰολικά*, see Gutzwiller 1996: 139 n. 63.

the meter of Book 2 of Sappho), and four poems that also set their author in a complex rapport with his Aeolic models. *Idyll* 28 is a relatively short poem that appears to evoke a metaphorical play on χάρις and the giving of gifts, thus making it an appropriate opening poem of a collection:[8] *Idyll* 28 ends with a citation; *Idyll* 29 begins with one. *Idyll* 28 bears the distaff back to Miletus and to the world of Archaic lyric.[9] An opening poem, itself representing a gift, is a conceit used by Catullus in *Carmen* 1 and may be the underlying sense of Callimachus's *Epigram* 15 GP (51 Pf.). *Idyll* 22 is in Doric and dactylic hexameter.[10] Yet there are features of both *Idylls* 28 and 22 that make their presence with the παιδικά unsurprising. The former, in Aeolic dialect, as are *Idylls* 29–31, is addressed to Nicias, the recipient of two other poems of Theocritus on both heterosexual and homosexual love. All three of these poems are framed in an epistolary fashion; all have erotic themes (unrequited love, homoerotic love, marital love); all encompass some sense of journeying and distance. *Idyll* 22, Theocritus's hymn to the Dioscuri, includes the narrative of the boxing match of Amycus and Polydeuces. The evocation of the world of the palaestra is perhaps an easier fit with *Idylls* 29–31 than at first appears.[11]

An Alexandrian papyrus roll that opens with poems in Aeolic already evokes a particular past time and place. Like the sixth-century Ionic of Herodas, this is an artificial language specifically designed to juxtapose the third-century Alexandrian author with a specific Archaic model or models. Whereas for an Alexandrian audience Doric dialect can have a complex web of associations, Aeolic can represent only the Aeolic poetic tradition and, more specifically, the poets Sappho and Alcaeus, already canonical cultural figures by the third century. The reader of this original roll, when first confronting the opening lines of *Idyll* 28, Γλαύκας, ὦ φιλέριθ' ἀλακάτα, δῶρον Ἀθανάας | γύναιξιν νόος οἰκωφελίας αἶσιν ἐπάβολος, | θέρσεισ' ἄμμιν ὑμάρτη πόλιν ἐς Νήλεος ἀγλάαν, | ὄππα Κύπριδος ἶρον καλάμω χλῶρον ὑπ' ἀπάλω ("Distaff beloved of spinners, gift of gray-eyed Athene to women whose mind turns to their home's care, boldly follow me to Neleus's splendid city, where is the verdant precinct of Cypris below soft rushes"), might perhaps wonder to what extent this poem was modeled on Sappho. Not only do the dialect and the imagery of the female world bear a

[8] Cf. Gutzwiller (1996: 141) on the choice of *Idyll* 16 as the poem that begins roll B of this codex; many of the same reasons apply here to *Idyll* 28.

[9] Miletus, the city of Neleus, takes on a similar role in Callimachus's first *Iambus*. The oracle of the Branchidae there was refounded by the Ptolemies. Miletus thus serves as a site of both past and present.

[10] See Sens 1997: 36–47.

[11] See Sens (1997: 93–94) on *Id*. 22.23–25: ὦ ἄμφω θνητοῖσι βοηθόοι, ὦ φίλοι ἄμφω | ἱππῆες κιθαρισταὶ ἀεθλητῆρες ἀοιδοί, | Κάστορος ἢ πρώτου Πολθδεύκεος ἄρξομ' ἀείδειν; "Helpmates to mortals both, both our friends, horsemen, lyre players, athletes, singers, shall I sing first of Castor or of Polydeuces?" The Dioscuri are given here the traditional attributes of Hellenic *paideia* and hence would be ideally suited as figureheads of a roll of *paidika*.

distinct overtone of Sappho's verses, but some of the vocabulary does also.[12] Indeed, one would not exaggerate to term the poem a Theocritean evolution of Sappho. The appropriation of the distaff as a subject of male Alexandrian discourse neatly highlights this evolution.

And then there are the poems' meters. *Idylls* 28 and 30 are both composed in greater asclepiads (glyconics extended with two choriambs). This was also called Σαπφικὸν ἑκκαιδεκασύλλαβον, "Sapphic sixteen-syllable," and was the meter of Book 3 of the Alexandrian edition of Sappho.[13] The scholiast to Theocritus 28 cites a line of Sappho (fr. 53), βροδοπάχεες ἄγναι Χάριτες, δεῦτε Δίος κόραι ("hither, rose-armed holy Graces, daughters of Zeus"), which we can thus fairly confidently assume was the opening line of Book 3 of Sappho.[14] Further, *Idyll* 28 is the first of the Aeolic poems in the ordering preserved by the Antinoe papyrus. The play with Χαρίτων and χάρις at *Idyll* 28.7 and 24 may well resonate with the opening line of Sappho's Book 3, particularly given Theocritus's similar play with Χάριτες and Simonides in *Idyll* 16.[15]

Idyll 29 is composed in a meter called the Sapphic fourteen-syllable, the meter of all of Book 2 of the Alexandrian edition of Sappho. *Idyll* 31 appears to be in the same meter as *Idylls* 28 and 30 (greater asclepiads). While there are also metrical parallels with individual poems of Alcaeus,[16] the metrical ordering of Sappho's poetry conditions the ordering of these idylls. Here, as elsewhere in this poetry, Theocritus evokes more than one Archaic model.[17]

In their study of the metrics of *Idylls* 28–30, M. Fassino and L. Prauscello (2001) have demonstrated the complexity of Theocritus's approach to these Aeolic meters. To paraphrase their conclusion: Theocritus in his Aeolic poems uses two meters. One, the greater asclepiad (*Id.* 28, 30, 31), the meter of Book 3 of the Alexandrian edition of Sappho, enjoys a fairly constant life from the Archaic to Theocritus's contemporary Hellenistic period. The other,[18] the Sapphic fourteen-syllable or Aeolic pentameter, lacks a corresponding continuum. They note that composition in this latter meter must be a deliberately archaizing artistic gesture.[19] Several scholars have argued for a corresponding contrast in the thematic character of *Idylls* 29 and 30 as well, the first the more archaizing,

[12] Theocr. 28.2, ἐπάβολος; cf. Sappho fr. 21.2, επαβολης[; 28.1, γλαῦκος, 28.4, ἶρος, and 28.4, ἄπαλος, are all fairly frequent in Sappho. Ἄπαλος generally appears in Sappho of the human body or its parts, but note fr. 96.13–14, κἄπαλ' ἄν | θρυσκα, "and soft chervil."

[13] Cf. Heph. 10, 6, p. 34 C.

[14] See Voigt *ad locum*.

[15] See below, chapter 5, section 5.2, "Theocritus and Simonides, Part 1."

[16] Alcaeus frr. 141, 365, and possibly fr. 38 are composed in greater asclepiads. See further Hunter 1996: 172–73.

[17] On Theocritus's use of Simonides and Pindar in *Idyll* 16, see below, chapter 5, as referenced above in n. 15. In *Idyll* 2 Theocritus juxtaposes themes and imagery of Sappho with those of Archaic pederastic poetry.

[18] Fassino and Prauscello 2001: 19–32.

[19] Fassino and Prauscello 2001: 32, 36.

the second the more characteristically Hellenistic.[20] Given the character of *Idyll* 28, with its male discourse on a female domestic object, there is a clear play here on the possibilities of earlier poetic forms for both memorialization and variation.

Our particular concern here is the three παιδικά, *Idylls* 29–31. Theocritus's oeuvre includes three homoerotic poems that feature bucolic themes and settings: *Idylls* 5, 7, and 13. The poems that we might term παιδικά, *Idylls* 29–31—and *Idyll* 12 besides, which, though composed in dactylic hexameter, not Aeolic meter or dialect, can be aligned with the Aeolic παιδικά[21]—differ from the other homoerotic poems in several ways. *Idylls* 12 and 29 (very little remains of *Idyll* 31) are direct addresses to a beloved, late arrived in *Idyll* 12, careless and promiscuous in *Idyll* 29; *Idyll* 30 is a dialogue between the speaker and his *thymos*. None of these poems is in any way framed. Here they differ from Theocritus's other homoerotic poems. They are also thematically largely self-contained. With the exception of the Megarian kissing ritual outlined in *Idyll* 12,[22] the only referents outside the poems' immediate contexts are mythological and, as has been often observed, entirely appropriate to the recasting of a very old genre, symposiastic erotic verse: for example, Ganymede at *Idyll* 12.35 and the Ἀχιλλείοι φίλοι of *Idyll* 29.34.

Idyll 29 opens with a citation from Alcaeus:

> ‘Οἶνος, ὦ φίλε παῖ,’ λέγεται, ‘καὶ ἀλάθεα’·
> κἄμμε χρὴ μεθύοντας ἀλάθεας ἔμμεναι.
> κἄγω μὲν τὰ φρένων ἐρέω κέατ’ ἐν μύχῳ·
> οὐκ ὅλας φιλέην μ’ ἐθέλησθ’ ἀπὺ καρδίας.
> γινώσκω· τὸ γὰρ αἷμισυ τὰς ζοΐας ἔχω
> ζὰ τὰν σὰν ἰδέαν, τὸ δὲ λοῖπον ἀπώλετο
> κὤταν μὲν σὺ θέλῃς, μακάρεσσιν ἴσαν ἄγω
> ἀμέραν· ὅτα δ’ οὐκ ἐθέλῃς σύ, μάλ’ ἐν σκότῳ.

> “Wine, dear boy,” it is said, “and truth.” And we too, as we drink deep, should be truthful. And I will say what lies inmost in my mind. You are not willing to love me with your whole heart. I know it. For half my life I have through your beauty; the rest is gone. And when you will, my day is like the blessèd gods’. But when you withhold, I am entirely in darkness.

Plato cites this line a century earlier at *Symposium* 217e3–4: τὸ λεγόμενον, οἶνος ἄνευ τε παίδων καὶ μετὰ παίδων ἦν ἀληθής (“as the saying goes, wine without boys and with boys is truthful”). The scholiast assigns the proverb to

[20] Pretagostini 1995: 40–42; Pretagostini 1997: 9–24.

[21] A different section of the same Antinoite papyrus preserves *Idylls* 13 and 12 in this order; both poems are concerned with, for lack of a better term, antecedents of pederastic love. On the ordering of this section, see Gutzwiller 1996: 141.

[22] On this rite see Leitao (in progress).

Alcaeus.[23] Is Theocritus evoking only Alcaeus here, or also Plato's invocation of Alcaeus in the *Symposium*?[24] Theocritus uses Plato elsewhere, notably in the (also) homoerotic *Idyll* 7.[25] The setting of this part of the *Symposium*, particularly the very inebriated Alcibiades chastising Socrates and the suggestion of an unusual bond of *erastēs* and *erōmenos*,[26] would make that somewhat ironic treatment of homosexual love a suggestive model for this one.[27]

Theocritus's use of an Alcaic motto,[28] an inscribed text that serves at once as the point of recall of earlier authors and texts, at the beginning of a new poem leads to a special connection between the two works.[29] Such an inscription inherently expresses the distance of authors, periods, cultures, and even (in Horace's case) languages. At the same time an inscription may invoke the authority of the inscribed voice; so the singer of *Idyll* 29 writes himself into the traditions of Alcaic verse.[30] The act of inscribing a motto takes on, as A. Cavarzere points out, a particular power for readers in the Alexandrian period because of their new interest in the written text.[31] Indeed, the physical presence of an inscribed

[23] Σ *ad loc.*: οἶνος καὶ ἀλήθεια· ἐπὶ τῶν ἐν μέθῃ τὴν ἀλήθειαν λεγόντων. ἔστι δὲ ἄσματος Ἀλκαίου ἀρχή· οἶνος, ὦ φῖλε παῖ, καὶ ἀλήθεια. καὶ Θεόκριτος, "Wine and truth. Regarding those who speak the truth when drunk. There is also an opening of a song of Alcaeus, 'Wine, dear boy, and truth.' Also Theocritus." The Alcaeus citation is fr. 366. The quotation οἶνος καὶ ἀλήθεια is (unsurprisingly) fairly widely cited: see further Gow 1952: II 504–5; Voigt *ad locum* It has been thought by some that λέγεται at *Id*. 29.1 is part of the citation (thus resulting in a complete line of verse), but this seems, given the parallel citations elsewhere, unlikely (and too prosaic); the scholiast to *Idyll* 29 (Wendel 1914: 334) gives the citation itself without any form of the verb λέγω: ἡ δὲ ὁμιλία ἐστὶ ‹. . .› παρόσον εἰρῆσθαί φησιν 'οἶνος καὶ ἀλήθεια,' παρὰ τὴν παροιμίαν, "the discourse is . . . inasmuch as he says to have said 'wine and truth' according to the proverb." Λεγόμενον at Pl. *Symp*. 217e3 may be an interesting parallel for a different reason, as Theocritus may be implicating that text here as well. The proverbial nature of the Alcaeus citation emphasized by τὸ λεγόμενον in the *Symposium* passage may also be highlighted in the τῶν . . . λεγόντων of the scholiast's summary.

The sentiment is a commonplace in Greek literature and is paralleled in Alcaeus esp. by fr. 333, οἶνος γὰρ ἀνθρώπω δίοπτρον, "for wine is the mirror of man."

[24] Hunter (1999: 173–74) observes that the opening of *Id*. 29 may echo Asclepiades' development of the same theme at 18 GP, οἶνος ἔρωτος ἔλεγχος, "wine is the test of love." Indeed it seems very likely that Hellenistic evocation of Archaic lyric poetry is often at the same time evocation of the reception of the same poetry; so, e.g., Simaitha's slightly bathetic renditions of Sappho in *Id*. 2 may well reflect earlier, less than serious echoes of Sappho on (e.g.) the comic stage.

[25] See Hunter 1999: 145–46.

[26] Pl. *Symp*. 217e2–4, τὸ δ' ἐντεῦθεν οὐκ ἄν μου ἠκούσατε λέγοντος, εἰ μὴ πρῶτον μέν, τὸ λεγόμενον, οἶνος ἄνευ τε παίδων καὶ μετὰ παίδων ἦν ἀληθής, "what I say from now on you wouldn't be hearing from me if, in the first place, as the saying goes, wine without boys and with boys were truthful." On this passage, see Dover 1980: 169 *ad locum*.

[27] Cf. line 33 of this poem, συνέραν, "to love mutually."

[28] The term "motto" goes back at least to Reitzenstein 1904; see Cavarzere 1996: 13–14.

[29] See further Cavarzere 1996: 13–14; Genette (cited by Cavarzere)1987: 141.

[30] Hunter (1996: 175), who has a very subtle reading of this use of authority. Simaitha in *Id*. 2 does something similar: see above, chapter 1, section 1.1.2, "Overtones of Sappho in a Wedding Song."

[31] Cavarzere 1996: 19–20: "La sua [*sc*. il motto] presenza nell'arte alessandrina non meraviglia certo, quando si rifletta che proprio in questo periodo giunge a perfetto compimento la trasformazione

text as the heading of a poem has multiple resonances in a period that sees the evolution of titles to designate groups of poems or even the *syllaboi* that mark and catalogue papyrus rolls.

The inscription is highlighted by the development of each image in the following lines. Οἶνος, wine, morphs into μεθύοντας, "drinking deep." The noun of the motto is now transformed into verbal action, as the image of a past symposium is transferred to the present one.[32] Theocritus uses the verb μεθύω in one other context, *Idyll* 22.98–99, ἔστη δὲ πληγαῖς μεθύων, ἐκ δ' ἔπτυσεν αἷμα | φοίνιον ("he stood punch-drunk with blows, and spat out red blood").[33] Anacreon's metaphorical use of this verb in the phrase μεθύων ἔρωτι (94 G = *PMG* 376.2, cited by Hephaestion, among others) may also come into play here. Theocritus may evoke both these senses of μεθύω and both earlier poets. Μεθύω is certainly a verb that is characteristic both of Alcaeus's poetry and of the traditions about him (e.g., Chamaeleon, *Περὶ μέθης*), as in fragment 58.12,]μοι μεθύων ἀείςης ("drunk you may sing"); fragment 332.1–2, νῦν χρῆ μεθύςθην καί τινα πρὸς βίαν | πώνην ("Now must we get drunk, and drink with all our might"); fragment 335.3–4, φάρμακον δ' ἄριστον | οἶνον ἐνεικαμένοις μεθύςθην ("the best remedy is for those who've brought wine to get drunk").

Ἀλάθεα, "truth," in the motto is transformed into ἀλάθεας, "truthful," in the first line of the responding poem, and maintains the sound, the number of syllables, and also the position of the elements of the motto.[34] The form is not commonly used of persons;[35] the variation of both nouns of the Alcaic motto with adjectival forms is one of the outstanding features of the motto's reworking. Φίλε in the motto recurs in the infinitive φιλέην of line 4. Ingeniously, the unrequited love that is the subject of the speaker's complaint is reflected in the transference of the adjective applied to the boy (φίλος) to the verbal action that is not applied on the boy's part to the poem's speaker (φιλέην).

Finally λέγεται, obviously not a component of the Alcaic original but apparently part of the tradition of this motto, recurs in ἐρέω, the finished perfect of the traditional *Sprichwort* now evolved into future declarative utterance. Here we should compare τὸ λεγόμενον in Plato, *Symposium* 217e3, which also cites this line. Cavarzere notes that τὸ λεγόμενον here particularly characterizes the

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del messagio poetico da orale a scritto, quando addiritura la precedente poesia orale riceve dai filologi alessandrini una sistemazione scritta in edizioni destinate a rimanere canoniche. . . . L'allusività, nella quale rientra appunto anche il procedimento del 'motto' iniziale, è la necessaria attitudine al dialogo d'una siffatta poesia, che può finalmente contare su un pubblico di lettori in grado di riconoscere con tutto comodo l'allusione, di assorbirla e di pensarci su."

[32] While there is nothing very unusual about the use of μεθύω here, it may be worth keeping in mind that Alcaeus appears to have been one author treated in Chamaeleon's *Περὶ μέθης*.

[33] See further Gow 1952: II 396; Sens 1997: 145–46.

[34] On the form ἀλαθέας, see Gow 1952: II 61.

[35] Cf. Gow *ad locum*.

Alcaeus citation as a proverb.[36] Commentators on Theocritus *Idyll* 29 have wanted to include λέγεται in the original Alcaeus quote to finish the metrical line of Theocritus.[37] Cavarzere in his study of this line has added two points well worth keeping in mind here: first, the later poem need not be in the same meter as the earlier motto inscribed at its opening; second, the verse of Alcaeus as we have it in the Plato scholia could be the beginning of an Aeolic pentameter, an Aeolic hexameter, or even an Aeolic tetrameter.[38] Alcaeus fragment 368, κέλομαί τινα τὸν χαρίεντα Μένωνα κάλεσσαι, | αἰ χρῆ συμποσίας ἐπόναcιν ἔμοιγε γένεσθαι ("I bid someone summon fair Menon, if I must take pleasure in the symposium"), also a homoerotic symposiastic fragment, is in Aeolic hexameters. From a purely aesthetic point of view, a variation of meter could highlight a motto's inscription just as well as a similarity of meter. From another perspective, λέγεται can serve to mark the distance between the original poetic utterance and the repetition. Gow's comment (1952: II 504) that "T. seems to have at least the form of a scolion" and the parallel examples that he cites from the *Theognidea* are very instructive here.

Of the motto's elements, παῖ, "boy," alone does not recur in the lines that follow. But then, the continued address to the παῖς of the Alcaic motto within Theocritus's poem is itself the point of the two poems' tangency. Theocritus's "Variations on a Theme by Alcaeus" takes up the same address.

Idyll 29's meter is stichic, but its structure clearly attempts to evoke the smaller verse groups of Aeolic lyric. Hunter (1996) provides a very suggestive analysis of the poem's structure in these terms. (I owe the impetus for the discussion that follows to his observations.) This poem, like *Idyll* 30, though stichic, has a structure in quatrains.[39] There is a clear preference, especially in the first half of the poem, for thematic division by quatrain. Hence the inscription (line 1) is followed by three lines that develop its features in the context of *Idyll* 29. The second line of the poem thus serves, in the speaker's own symposiastic context, as the actualization of the saying of the first line. Lines 5–8 begin with the moment of recognition (line 5, γινώσκω), followed by the speaker's description of his truncated existence. A rhetorical question (line 9, πῶς ταῦτ' ἄρμενα, τὸν φιλέοντ' ὀνίαις δίδων; "How is this fitting, to give over to suffering one who loves you?") precedes three distichs. This could also be read as a gnomic distich preceding a thematically self-contained quatrain (lines 12–15), followed by another quatrain (lines 16–19).[40] Theocritus's use of particles at the beginnings of lines in this poem furthers this effect, especially καί (lines 2, 3, 7, 16, 24, 27, 28, 30, 32), νῦν (lines 14, 37), and ἀλλά (lines 10, 25)

[36] Cavarzere 1996: 53 n. 21.

[37] Lobel (1925: xvi) supports its inclusion; see also Gow (1952: II 504), but cf. Voigt in her commentary to Alcaeus fr. 366.

[38] Cavarzere 1996: 53.

[39] As Lobel (1925: xvi) first observed.

[40] Line 19 is corrupt, but the sense is fairly clear.

to mark both shifts in perception, particularly from speaker to object of his affection and back.[41]

The poem is meant to evoke the setting, tone, and discourse of the traditions of symposiastic literature. At the same time it is itself a literary work.[42] The juxtaposition of the earlier and the later era that the inscribed motto effects continues throughout the poem in the evocation of an earlier symposiastic setting.[43] At the same time there is a deliberate economy of symposiastic imagery. Line 2, μεθύοντας, gives the symposiastic setting and is also the only such image of wine and drinking in the poem. Line 22, ἐξ ἄστων, is the sole image of public discourse and reputation, which is so central to the traditional poetry of the symposium.[44] Other than the rather indistinct figures of rival *erastai* (lines 14–18),[45] there are no other contemporaries in the poem. Though the poem opens with an Alcaic inscription (and so an allusion to a poet whose verse is filled with personalities), there are no named individuals (also true of *Idyll* 30). The speaker's admonition to his beloved includes a certain amount of paideutic imagery,[46] imbued with a conventional emphasis on praiseworthy and blameworthy behavior. On the other hand there is, as Hunter observes, a certain naiveté in the speaker's idealization of his rapport with his addressee.[47] Erotic images in *Idyll* 29 that find parallels in the extant fragments of Aeolic lyric (e.g., line 16, ῥέθος; line 24, κἄμε μόλθακον; possibly line 23, φρένας . . . ὑπαδάμναται) do occur, but here we encounter a tremendous obstacle to our perception, namely how little we know of Alcaeus's erotic verse.[48]

[41] This is not the place for a close reading of the entire poem in these terms, but I give some examples. There is a shift of focus in the lines following the inscription (line 1) to first plural (line 2), first singular (line 3), second singular (line 4). This finds a response in the following lines, especially in the chiasmus of lines 7–8.

[42] Just as, e.g., the inscription recalls the literary effect of a title, so the last words of the poem, line 40, παυσάμενος χαλέπω πόθω, "on ceasing from my hard desire," mark both the author's cessation from suffering and the end of the poem.

[43] See Hunter 1996: 175–76.

[44] Lines 19–20 are problematic: †ἄνδρων τὼν ὑπερανορέων δοκέης πνέην· | φίλη δ', ἅς κε ζόης, τὸν ὔμοιον ἔχην ἄει†. See Gow 1952: II 507–8. The sentiment, inasmuch as we can determine one, seems rather Theognidean in character; Callim. *Iambus* 3 (fr. 193) may be an interesting parallel.

[45] Hunter (1996: 178 n. 52) suggests that the double entendre of line 14, κλάδος, is intended. At the same time, the parallel imagery of *erōmenos* as little bird at *Idyll* 13.12–13 is worth noting, as is, although here an image of heterosexual love, Catullus's *passer*.

[46] Both in tone and imagery; note especially lines 10–11, ἀλλ' αἴ μοί τι πίθοιο νέος προγενεστέρῳ | τῷ κε λώιον αὖτος ἔχων ἔμ' ἐπαινέσαις, "but if you a young man trust in me your elder, by as much as you are then better off would you praise me."

[47] Hunter 1996: 177–79.

[48] For this use of ῥέθος, cf. Sappho fr. 22.3,]ν ῥέθος δοκιμ[. The scholiast's (ABT) comment to *Il.* 22.68, ἠε βαλὼν ῥεθέων ἐκ θυμὸν ἕληται, "or casting has taken the life from my body," is revealing: Αἰολεῖς δὲ τὸ πρόσωπον (ῥέθος) καὶ ῥεθομαλίδας τοὺς εὐπροσώπους φασί(ν), "The Aeolians call the face ῥέθος and those fair of face ῥεθομαλίδας." Theocritus appears to be using some key words in this poem that will resonate with his readers (perhaps at different levels) as specifically Aeolic.

Both Alcaeus's subsequent reputation in antiquity and, perhaps more specifically, the categorization of his poetry argue that he composed erotic verse and that he was extensively known for its composition.[49] Unfortunately, very little survives that can be securely attributed to his erotic verse. Besides the phrase that forms the incipit of Theocritus, *Idyll* 29, there is one fragment that can, with some degree of certainty, be characterized as homoerotic and symposiastic. Fragment 368 includes several features that give a tantalizing glimpse of a side of Alcaeus now largely lost to us:[50]

> κέλομαί τινα τὸν χαρίεντα Μένωνα κάλεσσαι,
> αἰ χρῆ συμποσίας ἐπόνασιν ἔμοιγε γένεσθαι

I bid someone summon fair Menon, if I am to enjoy the symposium.

Noteworthy here is the use of χαριείς (often of young male beauty: e.g., Theocr. 2.115, τὸν χαρίεντα . . . Φιλῖνον), the specified occasion in συμποσίας, and the double entendre of κάλεσσαι (which often has sexual overtones).[51] The object of affection is named in the fragment (Μένωνα). This two-line fragment of Alcaeus is replete with wordplay; note the repetition of the palatals in κέλομαι, χαρίεντα, and κάλεσσαι, and the play with sound in συμποσίας ἐπόνασιν. There may well also be wordplay in the choice of the name Μένων (i.e., "He who stays").[52]

For this metaphorical use of μόλθακος, cf. Alcaeus fr. 6.9–10: καὶ μὴ τιν' ὄκνος μόλθ[ακος | λάβη, "and let no soft hesitation overtake anyone." The context of this fragment (*P.Oxy.* 1789 fr. 1) is one of Alcaeus's stasiotic poems. Is Theocritus deliberately reworking stasiotic imagery here? For the same line, σιδαρίω, cf. Alcaeus fr. 179.3, σίδαρ[. While line 23, ὑπαδάμναται, finds no immediate parallels in the fragments of extant lyric, verb compounds in ὑπα- do occur in both poets; see further Rodríguez Somolinos (1998: 178) on Sappho fr. 31.10, ὑπαδρόμαι.

[49] Rösler (1980: 244 n. 321) is perhaps unduly cautious in his assessment of Alcaeus's homoerotic poetry; however both he (ibid.) and Vetta (1982: 7 n. 2) may be right in thinking that the scholiast's comment on fr. 71 (φίλος μὲν ἦσθα κἀπ' ἔριφον κάλην | καὶ χοῖρον· οὕτω τοῦτο νομίσδεται, "you used to be a friend to invite to kid and pork—such is the custom"), τὸν τοῦ Ἀλκαίου ἐρώμ(εν)ον, "the boy Alcaeus loved" (perhaps to whom the poems were addressed), may be a point of interpretation rather than a statement of fact. I am less convinced by Rösler's suggestion that the association of Alcaeus with homoerotic verse might result from reading back from Ibycus and Anacreon: "Möglich ist deshalb, daß die spätere Entwicklung erotischer Lyrik (Ibycos, Anakreon) zu einer entsprechenden Ausdeutung auch solcher Alkaios-Gedichte führte, bei denen dies vom Text hier nicht unbedingt geboten war." Rather more persuasive is his second suggestion (ibid.), that the ancient assessments of Alcaeus are derived from material that largely no longer exists. The idea of *Entwicklung* itself, with its possible teleological associations, can often be perilous when it comes to assessing ancient art forms; the masculine, muscular voice of the symposiastic Mytilenean hot-blooded poet declines into the soft, luxurious images of court poetry under the tyrants (e.g.). And surely the poet of "Persicos odi" knew what he was doing in his portrayal of his Lesbian model.

[50] Further on this fragment, see Page 1955: 294–95; Vetta 1982: 7–8, esp. his insightful comparisons with the *Theognidea*.

[51] Cf. Hunter (1996: 176) on *Id.* 29.39, κάλεντος ἐπ' αὐλεΐαις θύραις.

[52] I owe this observation to M. Cuypers.

In his 1982 study of one Oxyrhynchus papyrus (*P.Oxy.* 2506 = 306 A b), M. Vetta calls attention to the pederastic elements preserved by this fragment in verses of Alcaeus.[53] Of especial interest in fragment 77 (306 A b) are the lemmata: πὰρ δ' ὸ κάλο[c ("at the side the beautiful," line 12); ἔστο δάφν[αι- ("vested in laurel"); ϛτεφανώμε̣[νοc ("garlanded," line 14); κἄπειτ' ἀπέθυ̣ | cac ὦ πόνηρε παίδων ("and then you sacrificed, worst of boys," lines 24–25); cυμπόταις ("fellow drinkers," line 27). At issue is a false charge of murder, apparently against the poet.[54] The lemmata cited in the papyrus fragment foreground standard features of the symposium (garlands, drinkers) as well as the conventional language of praise and blame found in Archaic poetry, and that typify Alcaeus. Again the named figures are typical of Alcaeus's poetry (and very much absent in the poems of Theocritus inspired by Alcaeus).

Another papyrus from Oxyrhynchus (*P.Oxy.* 2302) preserves one of the more problematic fragments of Alcaeus (296b). Scholars have debated whether this is the text of one or two poems. There is a gap the size of two verses following verse 8. Lobel in the *editio princeps* observes that such spacing is conventionally used to indicate omitted verses rather than the conclusion of poems; he nonetheless thought there might be two poems here.[55] This may be the remnants of one of Alcaeus's παιδικά, although there is much that is unclear.[56] It is fairly certain that we have the beginning of the poem. Some of the imagery in the poem's initial lines seems to prefigure Theocritus's *Idyll* 7 in the depiction of a rustic symposium. Not much to go on, perhaps, but again very little of Alcaeus's erotic poetry survives. Theocritus's choice to open one of his *paidika* with a line of Alcaeus points to a model now all but lost to us:[57]

K]υπρογένη̣ᾳ̣, ἔν σε κάλ̣ῳι Δαμοανακτίδ[
] . πὰρ ἐλάαις ἐροέcca[ιc] καταήccατο
]cύναις· ὡc γὰρ ὀ‹ε›ί̣[γ]ο̣ντ' ἔαροc πύλ̣[αι
ἀμβ]ρ̣οcίαc ὀcδόμενοι̣[.]αις ὑπαμ̣ε̣[4

[53] Technically this is not, in the opinion of some scholars, a *hypomnēma*, in that it lacks an ongoing alternation of lemmata and commentary. See Vetta 1982 *ad loc.* (esp. p. 13) but also Porro 1994: 189–91. On the larger issue of generic definitions of ancient scholarly tools, see Dickie 2007: 11–14. At fr. 6 of *P.Oxy.* 2506 lines 3 and 7, Page (editor of the *editio. princeps*) thought he could restore the names of Dicaearchus and Aristarchus (see further Porro 1994: 204); if fr. 6 indeed deals with Alcaeus, it is possible that it preserves some references to source material on the poet.

[54] Vetta 1982: 13–14; Porro 1994: 206–7.

[55] See Lobel's comments in *Oxyrhynchus Papyri* XXI 83–84 (to *P.Oxy*. 2303 fr. 4); see also Page 1955: 297 n. 1; Liberman 2002: II 97.

[56] Pardini 1991b: 277.

[57] Or possibly line 1, καλῶ, "I call you to . . .". In translating line 8, I am following Page's (1955: 298) conjecture ἰακύνθ]ωι. Campbell's (1982: 337) translation of lines 1–8 is rather bolder than mine: "(Holy) Cyprus-born, Damaoanactidas . . . you in a fair (season?) . . . by the lovely olive-trees blew down . . . (delights?); for when the gates of spring are opened . . . (boys) scented with ambrosia . . .; (but again) youths garlanded with hyacinth . . ."

]ϙήλαδε . [ ]ν[
]ǫιδε . . . [ ]’[ ] . . . [
] ǫὐκ ο . [....]θ’· α[..]αυ[..]νεανι̣[
]. ξιακ[...]ῳ στεφαγ̣ωμενοι[8

] . α γὰρ δὴ διε[....]μα[
]. ǫ̣ὔπω διε . [....]. . [
] .c ἐπάερρον [
]ωδ̣’ [ἐ]ρ̣ά̣τας εἰc α. [12
ἐ]ξ̣έφυγον πολλ. [
]ν. ν [ἀ]νεμωλ[
]ạ̣ς̣[.]δ̣ος[.]ς̣ πυθμ[εν
]ον[.]ῆς̣μ̣ạ. [16
]. έạς[.]. υχ[
]ρ̣ρ̣[..].

Cyprus-born, you in fair(?) Damoanactidas (. . .) by lovely olive trees blew down (. . .) for as the gates of spring were open (. . .) smelling of ambrosia (. . .) young men(?) (. . .) with (hyacinth) crowned (. . .) for truly (. . .) I [*or*: they] raised up (. . .) from lovely (. . .) to (. . .) I fled often(?) (. . .) of winds(?) (. . .) bottom (. . .)

One contemporary poem, in this case an erotic epigram of Callimachus, that I wish to consider briefly in closing this discussion of Theocritus, *Idyll* 29, is Callimachus, *Epigram* 4 GP (41 Pf.), another homoerotic text that plays on Plato's divided soul, which appears at *Idyll* 29.5–6.[58] It is possible that the two poets here reflect each other, but it is also possible that both are recalling their shared model:[59]

ἥμισύ μευ ψυχῆς ἔτι τὸ πνέον, ἥμισυ δ’ οὐκ οἶδ’
εἴτ’ Ἔρος εἴτ’ Ἀΐδης ἥρπασε, πλὴν ἀφανές.
ἦ ῥά τιν’ ἐς παίδων πάλιν ᾤχετο; καὶ μὲν ἀπεῖπον
πολλάκι “τὴν δρῆστιν μή νυ δέχεσθε, νέοι.”
Θεύτιμον δίφησον· ἐκεῖσε γὰρ ἡ λιθόλευστος
κείνη καὶ δύσερως οἶδ’ ὅτι που στρέφεται.

Half of my soul yet is a breathing thing, and half I know not whether Love or Hades has snatched it, but that it is vanished. Is it gone again to some boy? And yet frequently I warned, "Young men, do not receive the runaway." Seek it at Theutimus's. For I know that one, my soul, wanders somewhere near there, deserving to be stoned and sick in love.

[58] In this regard ἰδέα for "form, beauty" at *Id.* 29 is particularly intriguing, as is the formation of ἀλάλθεας at line 2 from ἀλάθεα at line 1. See further Hubbard 2003: 283 n. 35.

[59] The translation is my own, from Hubbard 2003: 273.

γινώσκω· τὸ γὰρ αἴμισυ τὰς ζοΐας ἔχω
ζὰ τὰν σὰν ἰδέαν, τὸ δὲ λοῖπον ἀπώλετο·

I know. For I have half my life through your form; the rest is gone.

While the post-Platonic divided soul in erotic verse is itself something of a topos, there are some compelling similarities in the two passages, especially the language of knowing or recognition (*Id*. 29.5, γινώσκω; *Ep*. 4.1, οὐκ οἶδ'), the image of absence at the end of the line (*Id*. 29.6, ἀπώλετο; *Ep*. 4.2, ἀφανές), as well as the imagery of the underworld. Indeed the speaker of *Idyll* 29.7–8, κὤταν μὲν σὺ θέλῃς, μακάρεσσιν ἴσαν ἄγω | ἀμεραν· ὅτα δ' οὐκ ἐθέλῃς σύ, μάλ' ἐν σκότῳ, seems to cast himself in the role of a helpless Persephone.

Idylls 29 and 30 show an unusual rapport with one another. And although making any assumption based on a conjectured ordering of Theocritean poems can be quite risky, here there seems to be a deliberate strategy in their juxtaposition.[60] In the closing lines of *Idyll* 29, the speaker laments his beloved's reaction to his entreaties:

αἰ δὲ ταῦτα φέρην ἀνέμοισιν ἐπιτρέπῃς,
ἐν θύμῳ δὲ λέγῃς, 'τί με, δαιμόνι', ἐννόχλης;'

If you entrust these things to the winds to bear away, and in your heart say, "Why, sir, do you bother me?"

The image of dialogue of speaker and *thymos* is realized to a much greater extent in the structure of *Idyll* 30. There are other motifs from *Idyll* 29 that recur in *Idyll* 30. The lover's words committed to the winds at *Idyll* 29.35 echo in the final lines of *Idyll* 30, ἔμε μίαν, φύλλον ἐπάμερον | σμίκρας δεύμενον αὔρας, ὀνέλων ὥκα φόρει ‹πνόᾳ› ("me an ephemeral leaf, moved lightly on the air, with a breath he swiftly bears away"). The image of *Idyll* 29.40, παυσάμενος χαλέπω πόθω ("on ceasing from hard longing"), evolves into παύσασθαι δ' ἐνίαυτος χαλέπας οὐκ ἴ‹κανος νόσω› ("and a year is not sufficient for him to cease from his hard illness") at *Idyll* 30.23 (if we accept Bergk's emendation).[61] Χαλέπω appears in the last line of *Idyll* 29 and in the first line of *Idyll* 30. Thus one poem ceases from its declaration of "hard longing" as the next begins with a lament for its "hard and ill-fated illness." The juxtaposition of the two poems is like the juxtaposition of two other Theocritean homoerotic songs, those sung by Lycidas and Simichidas in *Idyll* 7,[62] a poem that also implicates both Sappho and Alcaeus.

The first of these, the song of the enigmatic goatherd Lycidas, seems a metapoetic gesture especially pointed at Archaic Aeolic, and specifically Alcaic,

[60] From the little evidence that remains (*codex Ambrosianus* 104, the Antinoite papyrus) the Aeolic poems are always preserved in the order 28, 29, 30.

[61] If we accept Bergk's emendation.

[62] Krevans (1983: 214) suggests that the references to Mytilene in Lycidas's song are a coded allusion to Archaic Lesbian poetry.

poetry. In her 1983 study of the geographical and literary markers of *Idyll* 7, N. Krevans illustrates the features of the early part of the song that define it as a *paidika,* and she touches particularly on the song's opening line, Ἔσσεται Ἀγεάνακτι καλὸς πλόος ἐς Μιτυλήναν, ("For Ageanax there will be fair sailing to Mitylene").[63] The motif is repeated at lines 61–62, Ἀγεάνακτι πλόον διζημένῳ ἐς Μιτυλήναν | ὥρια πάντα γένοιτο, καὶ εὔπλοος ὅρμον ἵκοιτο ("For Ageanax seeking voyage to Mytilene may all be seasonable, and may he arrive with safe voyage to his haven"), which effectively close the first part of Lycidas's song.[64] Imagery of journeying with metapoetic connotations finds parallels in other Hellenistic poets.[65] As Krevans demonstrates, the metapoetic connotation here is reinforced by vocabulary and imagery of the Aeolic poets.[66] Further, Theocritus here takes these images, significantly, from both Sappho and Alcaeus. The close association of these two voices of the Archaic Aeolic past as a combined or merged model, one that allows for both their confluence and their individuality, is central to the dynamism of this model elsewhere, and here in the *paidika* of Theocritus, Alcaic in themes and Sapphic in meter, in poetic form.[67]

In a recent study J. Méndez Dosuna has posited an allusion to Sappho at *Idyll* 30.18:[68] τῷ μὲν γὰρ βίος ἔρπει ἴσα γόννοις ἐλάφω θόας ("for one [i.e., the young boy] life goes by like the knees of a swift deer"). As Méndez Dosuna observes, this simile recalls, also in a homoerotic context, Sappho's simile in the new Sappho fragment (*P.Köln* Inv. Nr. 21351 + *P.Oxy.* 1787.), βάρυς δέ μ' ὀ [θ]ῦμος πεπόηται, γόνα δ'[ο]ὐ φέροισι, | τὰ δή ποτα λαίψηρ' ἔον ὄρχησθ' ἴσα νεβρίοισι ("heavy has my spirit grown; my knees don't bear me up, that once were nimble as fawns in the dance"). There are other apparent resonances of Sappho's language and imagery in Theocritus's *Idyll* 30. For example, its meter, which, like that of *Idylls* 28 and 31, is the greater asclepiad, the meter of Book 3 of the

[63] Krevans 1983: 213–14.

[64] Sailing is also, appropriately here, a sexual metaphor, particularly in homoerotic epigram. Lycidas's song has the following structure: opening wish (lines 52–62), description of rustic symposiastic setting (lines 63–72), song of Daphnis (lines 72–82), song of Comatas (lines 83–89).

[65] Cf. Callim. *Iambus* 13.11–14, ἐκ γὰρ . . . . . [. οὔτ'] Ἴωσι συμμείξας | οὔτ' Ἔφεσον ἐλθών, ἥτις ἐστι. αμ. [| Ἔφεσον, ὅθεν περ οἱ τὰ μέτρα μέλ̣λοντες | τὰ χωλὰ τίκτειν μὴ ἀμαθῶς ἐναύ̣ονται, "for from (. . .) [neither] associating with the Ionians, nor going to Ephesus, which is (. . .), Ephesus, whence they intending to produce the limping metra are not unlearnedly inspired" (trans. Acosta-Hughes 2002: 63 [adapted]). Interestingly, this image of journeying is also repeated, here at lines 64–66. See Acosta-Hughes 2002: 74–79, 99–103.

[66] Krevans 1983: 214–15. See also Weingarth 1967: 30–36; Winter 1974: 55–59. That one of the earliest known *propemptika* is Sappho fr. 5, wishing her brother fair voyage from Egypt to Mytilene, is also relevant here.

[67] Cf. Yatromanolakis (2007: 73–81) on the red-figure kalathoid vase (480–470 BCE) now in the Munich Staatliche Antikensammlungen that depicts Sappho and Alcaeus and on Aristotle's (*Rhet.* 1367[a].8–14) citation of a poetic dialogue between the two Lesbian poets. There was already a long cultural association of the two poets prior to Alexandria.

[68] Méndez Dosuna 2008b.

Alexandrian edition of Sappho.[69] One such parallel is at *Idyll* 30.31, καὔτας Κυπρογενήας; compare Sappho fragment 22.14–16, καὶ γὰρ αὔτα . . . | Κ]υπρογέν[ηα. (Κυπρογένηα occurs also at Sappho fragment 134 and Alcaeus 296b and 380b.) Another is at lines 25–26: δολομάχανον | . . .Ἔρον seems to echo Sappho fragment 1.2, παῖ⸣ Δ⸤ί⸥ος δολ⸤όπλοκε (here of Aphrodite). Sappho's guile-weaving figure is now inscribed in the portrayal of Aphrodite's son.[70] The poem recalls Sappho fragment 1 in other respects: the dialogue of speaker and *thymos* that comprises most of the poem from line 11 on: πόλλα δ' εἰσκαλέσαις θῦμον ἐμαύτῳ διελεξάμαν ("frequently calling upon my *thymos* I entered into conversation with myself"), possibly even the smile on the boy's face at line 4 (ταὶς δὲ παραύαις γλύκυ μειδίαι) and Aphrodite's at Sappho fragment 1.14, μειδιαί⸤σαις᾽ ἀθανάτωι προσώπωι.

The structure of the opening lines of *Idyll* 30 is very like that of *Idyll* 29—an exclamation followed by three lines that both expand on and explain that exclamation:[71]

> Ὤιμοι τὼ χαλέπω καἰνομόρω τῶδε νοσήματος·
> τετόρταιος ἔχει παῖδος ἔρος μῆνά με δεύτερον,
> κάλω μὲν μετρίως, ἀλλ᾽ ὅποσον τᾧ πόδι περρέχει,
> τὰς γᾶς, τοῦτο χάρις, ταὶς δὲ παραύαις γλύκυ μειδίαι.
> καὶ νῦν μὲν τὸ κάκον ταῖς μὲν ἔχει ταῖς δ᾽ ὀν‹ίησι με›, 5
> τάχα δ᾽ οὐδ᾽ ὅσον ὕπνω ᾽πιτύχην ἔσσετ᾽ ἐρωία.
>
> Alas for my hard and ill-starred illness. Quartan fever holds me a second time, for a boy of moderate beauty, but from head to foot here is charm, and the smile on his face is sweet. Some days the evil holds me; some days it lets me go; but soon there will not be so much as the rest from sleep.

Idyll 30, like *Idylls* 28 and 31, is composed in a meter known as the Sapphic sixteen-syllable, the meter of Book 3 of the Alexandrian edition of Sappho,[72] *Idyll* 29 opens with an incipit from Alcaeus. It is not clear whether the first line of *Idyll* 30 is, or is meant to imitate, such an incipit, but here too the second line contextualizes the first. The "illness" of the first line morphs into the "quartan fever for a boy" of the second. The first-person narrator appears here first in the

[69] Heph. 10, 6 p. 34 C (229): τὸ δὲ ἀκατάληκτον (ἀντισπαστικὸν τετράμετρον) καλεῖται Σαπφικὸν ἑκκαιδεκασύλλαβον, ᾧ τὸ τρίτον ὅλον Σαπφοῦς γέγραπται, πολλὰ δὲ καὶ Ἀλκαίου ᾄσματα, "the acatalectic (antispastic [i.e., the sequence ⏑––⏑] tetrameter) is called the Sapphic seventeen-syllable; in this all of the third book of Sappho is written, and many poems of Alcaeus."

[70] On Ibycus S 199 (*P.Oxy*. 2735 fr. 34 = *PMGF* S 199) line 2,]δολοπ[λόκ, here apparently also of Aphrodite, see Bonanno 1995: 34.

[71] Line 3 is problematic; see Gow 1952: II. 512. On παραύαις in line 4, see Gow 1952: II 476 (to *Id*. 26.1).

[72] Heph. 10, 6 p. 34 C (229): τὸ δὲ ἀκατάληκτον (ἀντισπαστικὸν τετράμετρον) καλεῖται Σαπφικὸν ἑκκαιδεκασύλλαβον, ᾧ τὸ τρίτον ὅλον Σαπφοῦς γέγραπται, πολλὰ δὲ καὶ Ἀλκαίου ᾄσματα. This meter is more conventionally known as the greater asclepiad.

second line, as is true in *Idyll* 29. The faux medical detail of line 2 is distinctly Hellenistic.[73] Yet it recalls Sappho's use of medical detail to portray the effects of Eros. The contrast of age and youth, one that we might earlier have associated with (for example) Anacreon, we now know to also have been a feature of Sappho's poetry. Theocritus in his Aeolic *Idylls* is recalling Sappho not only through the use of the meters of her later collection but also through frequent verbal allusion. Sappho and Alcaeus blend together here as one Aeolic voice, as one voice of homoerotic love, as one Lesbian model.

Very little remains of *Idyll* 31; the first fragmentary lines read as follows:

Ναυκλαρω φ[
σμικραν̣αι̣[
ουτος κανδρ[
συ δε τω Διος | [
τ̣ι̣ τ̣ο καλλο[.....] . ḳo̱ḍ[.] . ạ[5

Assuming that this is indeed a third *paidika*,[74] it may be possible to add something here on the apparent first word, ναυκλάρω. The term occurs in erotic metaphor elsewhere in Hellenistic poetry: for example, in Meleager 119 GP, where it suggests, as do similar passages in Hellenistic poetry, an erotic adaptation of Alcaeus's renowned "ship of state" metaphor.[75] Were the first line of the poem

[73] See Hunter 1996: 185–86, who compares Callimachus's portrayal of Cydippe in love subject to recurrent illnesses, one of which is quartan fever (fr. 75.16–17).

[74] The title has not been preserved, but Gow (1952: II 519) is surely right about line 5, τὸ κάλλος, a theme consistent with παιδικά:

[75] Κύπρις ἐμοὶ ναύκληρος, Ἔρως δ' οἴακα φυλάσσει,
ἄκρον ἔχων ψυχῆς ἐν χερὶ πηδάλιον·
χειμαίνει δὲ βαρὺς πνεύσας Πόθος, οὕνεκα δὴ νῦν
παμφύλῳ παίδων νήχομαι ἐν πελάγει.

Cypris is my captain, and Eros watches the tiller, holding the tip of my soul's rudder in his hand. And Desire, breathing heavily, blows up a storm, wherefore now truly I swim in a sea of boys of every race [trans. Acosta-Hughes 2003].

Other examples are Meleager 64 GP:

κῦμα τὸ πικρὸν Ἔρωτος ἀκοίμητοί τε πνέοντες
ζῆλοι καὶ κώμων χειμέριον πέλαγος,
ποῖ φέρομαι; πάντῃ δὲ φρενῶν οἴακες ἀφεῖνται·
ἦ πάλι τὴν τρυγερὴν Σκύλλαν ἐποψόμεθα;

Bitter wave of love, tirelessly breathing jealousies, and wintry sea of reveling, where am I going? The rudder of my mind is released in every direction. When shall we see lovely Scylla again?

Anon. 22 GP:

εἰαρινῷ χειμῶνι πανείκελος, ὦ Διόδωρε,
οὐμὸς ἔρως ἀσαφεῖ κινύμενος πελάγει·
καὶ ποτὲ μὲν φαίνεις πολὺν ὑετόν, ἄλλοτε δ' αὖτε
εὔδιος, ἁβρὰ γελῶν τ' ὄμμασιν ἐκκέχυσαι.

one that served as an Alcaic incipit, there might then be a pattern in the opening lines of *Idylls* 29, 30, and 31: wine, *erōs*, sailing, three central images of Alcaeus's poetry, now transformed into the openings of Theocritean Alcaic verse.

Another fragment survives, this time of Theocritus's contemporary Callimachus (fr. 400), in the same meter, also apparently a *paidika*. This appears to be from a *propemptikon*, thematically similar to the opening of the song of Lycidas in Theocritus's *Idyll* 7—this poem too may have had associations with Alcaeus, or more generally with Archaic Aeolic:[76]

> ἁ ναῦς ἃ τὸ μόνον φέγγος ἐμὶν τὸ γλυκὺ τᾶς ζόας
> ἅρπαξας, ποτί τε Ζανὸς ἱκνεῦμαι λιμενοσκόπω

Ship, who the one sweet light of my life have snatched away, by Zeus harbor-watcher I beseech . . .

Theocritus is a close reader of earlier lyric. Just as *Idyll* 2 reconfigures Sappho, *Idylls* 16 and 17 Pindar and Simonides, and *Idyll* 18 Stesichorus, so *Idylls* 28–30 bring forth a new Aeolic rendition of Alcaeus, and also of Sappho. Theocritus's rendition of Alcaeus is an act of artistic reception and renewal. (Aeolic, again, is marked as literary dialect in third-century Alexandria.) Theocritus's own reading of Archaic Aeolic poetry is both informed and enhanced by his knowledge of this poetry as physical text and as aural experience. He knew Sappho and in all likelihood Alcaeus as multibook poets, and he knew these books as verse groupings.[77] Our reading of Theocritus's reading is obscured by the fragmentary state of earlier Aeolic. In a case like *Idyll* 29.33, καί μοι τὠραμένῳ συνέραν ἀδόλως σέθεν ("to simply share in love with me, who loves you," of two men), and Sappho fragment 94.1, τεθνάκην δ' ἀδόλως θέλω ("I simply want to die," of two women), we see the resemblance (or in this case inversion), but assembling the parts of the filament is not easy.[78] Nonetheless the picture is a much richer one for Theocritus's reading. In his objects of desire we can see the outlines of Horace's Alcaic Lycus of *Odes* 1.32.

> τυφλὰ δ' ὅπως ναυηγὸς ἐν οἴδματι κύματα μετρῶν
> δινεῦμαι μεγάλῳ χείματι πλαζόμενος'
> ἀλλά μοι ἢ φιλίης ἔκθες σκοπὸν ἢ πάλι μίσους,
> ὡς εἴδω ποτέρῳ κύματι νηχόμεθα.

All like a spring storm, Diodorus, is my love, moved on an uncertain sea. At one time you display heavy rain; at another you are calm and pour forth gentleness, laughing with your eyes. As a sailor measuring blind waves on the swell I swirl wandering about in a great storm. But set for me a mark of love or hate, that I know on which wave I swim.

[76] As it appears to have with the epigrammatist Asclepiades. On Alcaeus and Asclepiades, see Acosta-Hughes 2007: 453–55.

[77] See further Hunter 1996: 175.

[78] Cf. Sappho fr. 68a11,]κ' ἄδολον [μ]ηκέτι συν[, "simply no longer (with?)." Mutual love is a feature of Sappho's erotic poetry, and one that Theocritus seems to recall here.

3.2. Callimachean Traces of Alcaeus

Alcaeus fragment 306d is a short fragment of a papyrus from Oxyrhynchus (*P.Oxy*. 2307) that preserves a *hypomnēma* of Alcaeus's poetry, with both text and commentary.[79] The papyrus includes the opening lines of the first three poems of Book 1 of Alcaeus's *melē*.[80] This is the text of fragment 306d:

] . εcυθ̣[
]ω πίναξ δ. [
]νεως ὡς ἀποι[
]ενου τοῦ Ἀλκ[αίου
]γεονότα κ̣α. [
πι]νακίδος ἀναγ̣κ̣[
]λομένου κελ. [
]cας ἕως χαλα̣λ̣[
] καὶ αὕτη γέγ̣ραπ̣[ται
]. . . cυμη[

The title of Callimachus's whole catalogue is the *Pinakes*; it is cited in the plural.[81] Individual entries are not; they are cited in the singular.[82] It is not surprising that a poet who was already the object of study of the Peripatetics Chamaeleon and Dicaearchus would also be cited by Callimachus in his catalogue of known literature. But if we assume that *pinax* here refers to Callimachus's *Pinakes* (an alternative is not obvious, given the context), this small papyrus fragment gives an indication of Callimachus's reading of Alcaeus. This much is certain: trying to perceive artistic connections between the two is more elusive. In part this is due to the chance survival of their respective works and the nature of what has survived—in particular the loss of almost all traces of Alcaeus's symposiastic and erotic poetry, as well as the loss of so much of Callimachus's prose work. What remains are: first, parallels, between Alcaeus's hymnic poem to Apollo and Callimachus's *Hymn to Apollo*; second, similarity in the language of a fragment of Alcaeus honoring Athena (fr. 325) and two lines in Callimachus's *Hymn* 5 (*The Bath of Pallas*), the hymn to Athena; and third, some apparent parallelism in Callimachus's portrayal of the child Artemis at the opening of his *Hymn* 3 and in a fragment in extended glyconics preserved by an Oxyrhynchite papyrus (*P.Fouad* 239, attributed by some scholars to Alcaeus, by others to Sappho). I treat each of these briefly in the following pages. Given the

[79] On the nature of this text, see Porro 1994: 60–61.

[80] See further below in this discussion.

[81] Cf. Diog. Laert. 8.86 (Callim. fr. 429), καθὰ Καλλίμαχος ἐν τοῖς Πίναξί φηcι.

[82] Cf. Athen. 8.585b (Callim. fr. 433), ἀνέγραψε δ' αὐτὸν Καλλίμαχος ἐν τῷ τρίτῳ πίνακι τῶν Νόμων. See Blum 1991: 150.

lack of material, establishing a case for Callimachus's use of Alcaeus is challenging, barely possible; yet some parallels between the two remain.

First, the parallels between Alcaeus's and Callimachus's hymns to Apollo. Only the first line of Alcaeus's hymnic poem to Apollo, which became the opening poem of his first book of μέλη, survives (fr. 307a), ὦναξ Ἄπολλον, παῖ μεγάλω Δίοc ("Lord Apollo, child of great Zeus"). We know, however, somewhat more of this hymn from the fourth-century sophist Himerius, who occasionally cites the Archaic lyric poets for illustration. This use of lyric poetry in later oratory is revealing, particularly for the way in which lyric was later read and understood. Lyric poetry, with its first-person utterance, address to a specified audience, and evocation of referents familiar to singer and audience alike, has obvious affinities for later rhetoric. Himerius is also the source for several fragments of Sappho. As Himerius himself remarks here, this is a prose paraphrase; hence some caution is required in attempting to perceive the original Alcaeus (Himerius, *Or*. 48.105–130 Colonna = Alcaeus fr. 307c):

> ἐθέλω δὲ ὑμῖν καὶ Ἀλκαίου τινά λόγον εἰπεῖν, ὃν ἐκεῖνος ᾖσεν ἐν μέλεσι παιᾶνα γράφων Ἀπόλλωνι. ἐρῶ δὲ ὑμῖν οὐ κατὰ τὰ μέλη τὰ Λέσβια, ἐπεὶ μηδὲ ποιητικός τις ἐγώ, ἀλλὰ τὸ μέτρον αὐτὸ λύσας εἰς λόγον τῆς λύρας. ὅτε Ἀπόλλων ἐγένετο, κοσμήσας αὐτὸν ὁ Ζεὺς μίτρᾳ τε χρυσῇ καὶ λύρᾳ, δούς τε ἐπὶ τούτοις ἅρμα ἐλαύνειν—κύκνοι δὲ ἦσαν τὸ ἅρμα—εἰς Δελφοὺς πέμπει ‹καὶ› Κασταλίας νάματα, ἐκεῖθεν προφητεύ‹σ›οντα δίκην καὶ θέμιν τοῖς Ἕλλησιν. ὁ δὲ ἐπιβὰς ἐπὶ τῶν ἁρμάτων ἐφῆκε τοὺς κύκνους ἐς Ὑπερβορέους πέτεσθαι. Δελφοὶ μὲν οὖν, ὡς ᾔσθοντο, παιᾶνα συνθέντες καὶ μέλος, καὶ χοροὺς ἠϊθέων περὶ τὸν τρίποδα στήσαντες, ἐκάλουν τὸν θεὸν ἐξ Ὑπερβορέων ἐλθεῖν· ὁ δὲ ἔτος ὅλον παρὰ τοῖς ἐκεῖ θεμιστεύσας ἀνθρώποις, ἐπειδὴ καιρὸν ἐνομοθέτει καὶ τοὺς Δελφικοὺς ἠχῆσαι τρίποδας, αὖθις κελεύει τοῖς κύκνοις ἐξ Ὑπερβορέων ἀφίπτασθαι. ἦν μὲν οὖν θέρος καὶ τοῦ θέρους τὸ μέσον αὐτό, ὅτε ἐξ Ὑπερβορέων Ἀλκαῖος ἄγει τὸν Ἀπόλλωνα. ὅθεν δὴ θέρους ἐκλάμποντος καὶ ἐπιδημοῦντος Ἀπόλλωνος θερινόν τι καὶ ἡ λύρα περὶ τὸν θεὸν ἁβρύνεται. ἄιδουσι μὲν ἀηδονες αὐτῶι ὁποῖον εἰκὸς ἄισαι παρ' Ἀλκαίωι τὰς ὄρνιθας, ἄιδουσι δὲ καὶ χελιδόνες καὶ τέττιγες οὐ τὴν ἑαυτῶν τύχην τὴν ἐν ἀνθρώποις ἀγγέλουσαι ἀλλὰ πάντα τὰ μέλη κατὰ θεοῦ φθεγγόμεναι. ῥεῖ καὶ ἀργυροῖς ἡ Κασταλία κατὰ ποίησιν νάμασι, καὶ Κηφισσὸς μέγας αἴρεται πορφύρων τοῖς κύμασι, τὸν Ἐνιπέα τοῦ Ὁμήρου μιμούμενος· βιάζεται μὲν γὰρ Ἀλκαῖος ὁμοίως Ὁμήρωι ποιῆσαι καὶ ὕδωρ θεῶν ἐπιδημίαν αἰσθέσθαι δυνάμενον.
>
> I wish to tell you also a certain narrative of Alcaeus, which he sang in his lyrics when composing a *paian* to Apollo—though I will not tell it in the manner of Lesbian lyric, because I am no poet, but rather taking away the meter itself will turn to the song's narrative(?). When Apollo was born, Zeus first adorned him with golden cap and lyre, and giving him, in addition to these things, a chariot to drive—and swans were his chariot—he sent him to Delphi and Castalia's springs, to interpret there justice and order for the Greeks.

> But he, ascending his chariot, bade the swans fly to the Hyperboreans. The Delphians, when they perceived this, composed a *paian* and a song for him, and setting choruses of youths around the tripod, summoned the god to come from the Hyperboreans. For upon ordaining laws for the men there for an entire year, he judged it the right moment for the tripods of Delphi to resound, and he bade his swans now fly back from the Hyperboreans. It was summer, and the very middle of summer, when Alcaeus brought Apollo from the Hyperboreans. Whence, with summer at its height and Apollo in attendance, even the lyre gently fashions something summery about the god. The nightingales sing for him something such as birds in Alcaeus sing, and the turtle doves and cicadas sing, heralding not as they are wont among men, but giving voice to all manner of songs in honor of the god. Castalia flows with the silver streams of poetry, and Cephissus rises, great and growing purple with waves, in imitation of Homer's Enipeus. For Alcaeus, just as Homer, is compelled to make even water capable of perceiving the presence of gods.

A couple of features of this paraphrase find parallels in Callimachus's *Hymn to Apollo*. Again, how distantly refracted this paraphrase of Himerius is from the original poem of Alcaeus is unclear. The sentence ἄιδουσι μὲν ἀηδονες αὐτῶι ὁποῖον εἰκὸς ἆισαι παρ' Ἀλκαίωι τὰς ὄρνιθας ("the nightingales sing for him something such as birds in Alcaeus sing") suggests some attention to poetic detail. Himerius's attestation that Alcaeus sang this narrative as a *paian* need not necessarily denote a poetic genre distinct from Alcaeus's *melē*.[83] Himerius may rather be guessing at the poem's occasion, as he seems to be doing several lines later in giving the Delphians' song to Apollo as παιᾶνα συνθέντες καὶ μέλος.[84] The *paian* also figures in Callimachus's hexameter hymn to Apollo. Here too it indicates occasion rather than genre (Callim. *Hy*. 2.97–104):

> ἰὴ ἰὴ παιῆον ἀκούομεν, οὕνεκα τοῦτο
> Δελφός τοι πρώτιστον ἐφύμνιον εὕρετο λαός,
> ἧμος ἑκηβολίην χρυσέων ἐπεδείκνυσο τόξων.
> Πυθώ τοι κατιόντι συνήντετο δαιμόνιος θήρ, 100
> αἰνὸς ὄφις. τὸν μὲν σὺ κατήναρες ἄλλον ἐπ' ἄλλῳ
> βάλλων ὠκὺν ὀϊστόν, ἐπηῦτησε δὲ λαός·
> 'ἰὴ ἰὴ παιῆον, ἵει βέλος, εὐθύ σε μήτηρ
> γείνατ' ἀοσσητῆρα'· τὸ δ' ἐξέτι κεῖθεν ἀείδῃ.

Iē, iē, *paiēon,* we hear, from that time when the Delphian people first invented this hymnic title, when you demonstrated the far shot of your bows. For as you went down to Pytho, a dread monster, an awesome serpent, met

[83] On the issue of Hellenistic classification of the *paian*, specifically with reference to this poem of Alcaeus, see Rutherford 2001: 27–28, 91.

[84] On this epiphany of Apollo, see further Rutherford 2001: 278.

you. This you slew, shooting one swift arrow upon another, and the people cried out: "Hey, hey, *paiēon*, shoot an arrow, for sure your mother bore in you our savior." And this from that time are you still called.

The *paian* also figures at the opening of the hymn, lines 17–25. The narrative order is typically etiological. The aition at the hymn's end is the explanation for the celebration at the hymn's beginning: the Delphians' celebration of the proto-paean is the aition for future paeans as a form of song and as a poetic genre.

Both Callimachus's hymn and Himerius's paraphrase of Alcaeus contain the presentation of a *paian* in situ, and in both the welcoming of the god is expressed through man and nature's celebration of him. Alcaeus's poem, as we have it here in Himerius, associates the young Apollo primarily with his father, Zeus. There is no mention here of Leto or of the Delian birth narrative as we have it in the *Homeric Hymn to Apollo* and as recreated in Callimachus's *Hymn to Delos*.[85] This raises the question of the two poems' gendered focus—both appear to figure Apollo in primarily male associations.

Callimachus's collection of hymns includes two that have Apollo's narrative at their center. This dual portrayal allows for an artistic treatment varied in tone, emphasis, structure, and also artistic model. Alcaeus's poem, with its emphasis on the god's cult in different places, his travels, his foundations,[86] and the celebration of the god's presence among his devotees, clearly finds striking resonances in Callimachus's second hymn.[87] Whereas the Delos hymn tells of Apollo's birth and the foundation of his cult at Delos, Callimachus's second hymn is rather of a founder of other cults and institutions, concluding, as Alcaeus's poem appears to have done, with Delphi.

Second here, the similarities between Callimachus's *Hymn* 5 and Alcaeus fragment 325, a four-line fragment in Alcaic strophe, preserved by Strabo in his account of the Boeotians' foundation of the Temple of Itonian Athena:[88]

ἴΩνασσ' Ἀ⌊θανάα πολε⌋μάδοκε
ἄ ποι Κ⌋ορωνήας μεδ[

[85] The third stasimon of Euripides' *IT*, which, as Callim. *Hy*. 2, tells of Apollo's slaying of Pytho, also however figures him as Leto's son: e.g., line 1234, εὔπαις ὁ Λατοῦς γόνος, "blessed child, son of Leto."

[86] Note esp. προφητεύ‹σ›οντα δίκην καὶ θέμιν τοῖς Ἕλλησιν, "to interpret justice and order for the Greeks."

[87] Callimachus is interested elsewhere in Apollo's cult among the Hyperboreans; cf. *Aetia* fr. 186, on the tribute of the Hyperboreans to Delos (cf. *Hy*. 4.284), fr. 492 (*incertae sedis*).

[88] Str. 9.2.29.6–10, κρατήσαντες [*sc*. οἱ Βοιωτοὶ] δὲ τῆς Κορωνείας ἐν τῷ πρὸ αὐτῆς πεδίῳ τὸ τῆς Ἰτωνίας Ἀθηνᾶς ἱερὸν ἱδρύσαντο ὁμώνυμον τῷ Θετταλικῷ, καὶ τὸν παραρρέοντα ποταμὸν Κουάριον προσηγόρευσαν ὁμοφώνως τῷ ἐκεῖ. Ἀλκαῖος δὲ καλεῖ Κωράλιον, λέγων [Alc. fr. 325], "The Boeotians on conquering Thessaly founded in the plain before it a shrine of Itonian Athena with the same name as the Thessalian one, and they called the river that flows by Couarius like the one in Thessaly. But Alcaeus calls it Coralius, saying [Alc. fr. 325]." Callimachus would seem to be consciously recalling the name in Alcaeus, otherwise unknown; Bulloch (1985: 172) suggests that the name may be either cultic or poetic.

On the unusual epithet πολε⌋μάδοκε see in line 1, Rodríguez Somolinos 1998: 277.

ι̣ναύω πάροιθεν ἀμφι[. . . . . .]
Κ̣ωραλίω ποτά̣μω πὰ̣ρ ὄχθαις

Warlike Queen Athena, who perhaps rul(ing) Coronea (. . .) before the temple around(?) . . . by the banks of the river Corialus.

Both the language and the imagery of Callimachus, *Hymn* 5.63–64, are very similar to this:

ἢ ‘πὶ Κορωνείας, ἵνα οἱ τεθυωμένον ἄλcoc
καὶ βωμοὶ ποταμῷ κεῖντ’ ἐπὶ Κουραλίῳ,

Or to Coronea, where her fragrant grove and altars are by the river Coralius.

The cult of Itonian Athena does not occur specifically in Callimachus, *Hymn* 5, *The Bath of Pallas*, but it does at *Hymn* 6.74–75, the *Hymn to Demeter*:

ἦνθον Ἰτωνιάδοc νιν Ἀθαναίας ἐπ’ ἄεθλα
Ὀρμενίδαι καλέοντεc·

The Ormenidae came, inviting him to the contests of Itonian Athena.

In the context of Callimachus's two hymns, which are closely bound in a number of ways, the reference points back to the passage of the previous hymn, and to the punishment wrought there.[89] It must remain an open question whether both passages reflect Alcaeus's treatment of the goddess and her cult, and whether this intertext is indeed one aspect of the close jointure of the two poems.

Third, parallels between Callimachus, *Hymn* 3, and the papyrus fragment possibly of Alcaeus (*P.Fouad* 239) that preserves a fragmentary Aeolic poem detailing Artemis's oath to remain a virgin:

a (col. I)

]canopec. . [
Φοίβωι χρυcοκό]μαι τὸν ἔτικτε Κόω. [
μίγειc(α) Κρ]ονίδαι μεγαλωνύμω‹ι›.
Ἄρτεμιc δὲ θέων] μέγαν ὅρκον ἀπώμοcε
κεφά]λαν· ἄϊ πάρθενος ἔccομαι 5
] . ων ὀρέων κορύφαι̣c’ ἔπι
]δ̣ε νεύcον ἔμαν χάριν·
ένευ]cε θέων μακάρων πάτηρ·
ἐλαφάβ]ολον ἀγροτέραν θέ̣ρι
] . cιν ἐπωνύμιον μέγα·
]εροc οὐδάμα πίλναται·
]. [.]. . . μ̣αφόβε[. .]ἔ̣ρω·

[89] The catalogue of motion here, the places to which Erysichthon is not sent by his grieving parents, parallels the catalogue of motion in the previous hymn, the places to which Chariclo is taken by Athena. Both passages focus on the mother figure.

b (col. II)
ἐμμ[
και̣. [
ρ̣. ε. [
ω. . . [
Μοιcαν ἀγλα[5
πόει καὶ Χαρίτων̣ [
βραδίνοις ἐπεβ. [
ὄργας μὴ ’πιλάθε. [
θ̣ν̣άτοιcιν· πεδ’. χ[
]δ̣αλίω[

a (col. 1) . . . (for Phoebus of golden hair), whom the daughter of Coes bore . . . (on sleeping with Cr)onus's son of great name . . . (Artemis the gods') great oath swore . . . (he)ad: "Ever will I be a virgin . . . on the mountain peaks . . . grant me this favor." (Assent)ed father of the blessed gods. Rustic shooter of deer the gods . . . a great title . . . Love? never approaches her.

b (col. II) . . . of Muses(?) resplendent(?) makes and of the Graces with slender . . . do not approach the rites for mortals . . .

The authorship of this poem is contested. E. Lobel and D. Page (1955) ascribe this to Alcaeus on metrical and generic grounds.[90] M. Treu argues strongly for Sappho's authorship. Voigt in her edition ascribes the poem to Sappho.[91] Lieberman, the most recent editor of Alcaeus's, is cautiously negative on Alcaeus's authorship.[92] The question is unresolved. The apparent echoed presence of this poem in Callimachus's *Hymn to Artemis* need not support or exclude the authorship of either Archaic poet. The beginning of Callimachus's poem in particular parallels this fragmentary Aeolic piece (Callim. *Hy*. 3.1–7, 26–29):

Ἄρτεμιν (οὐ γὰρ ἐλαφρὸν ἀειδόντεccι λαθέcθαι)
ὑμνέομεν, τῇ τόξα λαγωβολίαι τε μέλονται
καὶ χορὸc ἀμφιλαφὴc καὶ ἐν οὔρεcιν ἐψιάcθαι,
ἄρχμενοι ὡc ὅτε πατρὸc ἐφεζομένη γονάτεccι
παῖc ἔτι κουρίζουca τάδε προcέειπε γονῆα· 5
‘δόc μοι παρθενίην αἰώνιον, ἄππα, φυλάccειν,
καὶ πολυωνυμίην . . .
. . . . . .
ὣc ἡ παῖc εἰποῦca γενειάδοc ἤθελε πατρόc 26
ἅψαcθαι, πολλὰc δὲ μάτην ἐτανύccατο χεῖραc
μέχριc ἵνα ψαύcειε. πατὴρ δ’ ἐπένευcε γελάccαc,
φῇ δὲ καταρρέζων·

[90] T 1 LP. See Lobel and Page 1952: 3.
[91] Treu 1968: 161–63; see also Kirkwood 1974: 145–47. In Voigt's edition this is Sappho fr. 44A.
[92] Liberman 2002: xciv.

> Artemis (for she is no easy thing for singers to forget) we sing—hers are the bow and hare-slaying spear, hers the full chorus, and hers taking pleasure in the mountains—we sing, beginning from when, sitting upon her father's knees yet a little girl she so addressed her father: "Grant that everlasting virginity, Papa, be mine to keep and the honor of many names." . . . On so speaking the child wanted to grasp her father's beard, and in vain did she reach up to him that she might touch him, and her father laughingly assented, and, as he stroked her, replied.

A couple of features resonate with the opening of Callimachus's third hymn. The first is the depiction of Artemis as a child. In the passage of *Iliad* 21 that serves as a model for both passages, the goddess is not portrayed as a small child,[93] even though her relationship with her father, Zeus, is central in these lines. Nor is Hestia in the passage of the *Homeric Hymn to Aphrodite* where the goddess is promised eternal virginity.[94] The portrayal of the child goddess might seem prima facie a Callimachean innovation. Such portrayal and the representation of childhood psychology are indeed generally considered hallmarks of the Hellenistic period in literature.[95] Yet the Aeolic fragment preserved by our papyrus (*P.Fouad* 239) might give us pause. In particular the oath sworn immediately after the goddess's birth suggests a narrative line of being born, granting of perpetual virginity, and naming by other gods (lines 9–10, ἐλαφάβ]ολον ἀγροτέραν θέοι |]. σιν ἐπωνύμιον μέγα), a pattern similar to the opening lines of Artemis's requests in Callimachus's hymn, especially lines 6–7, δός μοι παρθενίην αἰώνιον, ἄππα, φυλάσσειν, | καὶ πολυωνυμίην. Similar too is the change of perspective: in the lyric fragment this moves from narrator (lines 1–2) to Artemis (lines 4–7) to Zeus (line 8) to other gods (lines 9–10). Callimachus's

[93] *Il.* 21.505–8:

> ἡ δ' ἄρ' Ὄλυμπον ἵκανε Διὸς ποτὶ χαλκοβατὲς δῶ,
> δακρυόεσσα δὲ πατρὸς ἐφέζετο γούνασι κούρη
> ἀμφὶ δ' ἄρ' ἀμβόσιος ἑανὸς τρέμε· τὴν δὲ προτὶ οἷ
> εἶλε πατὴρ Κρονίδης, καὶ ἀνείρετο ἡδὺ γελάσσας·

And she came to Olympus, to the bronze-founded house of Zeus, and in tears the girl sat at her father's knees, and her ambrosial robe trembled. Her father drew his daughter to him, laughed sweetly, and questioned her.

[94] *Hom. Hy.* 5.25–28:

> ἡ δὲ μάλ' οὐκ ἔθελεν ἀλλὰ στερεῶς ἀπέειπεν,
> ὤμοσε δὲ μέγαν ὅρκον, ὃ δὴ τετελεσμένος ἐστίν,
> ἁψαμένη κεφαλῆς πατρὸς Διὸς αἰγιόχοιο
> παρθένος ἔσσεσθαι πάντ' ἤματα, δῖα θεάων.

She was unwilling, and emphatically refused, and swore a great oath, which was to be accomplished, clasping the head of her father, Aegis-bearing Zeus, to be a virgin for all of her days, shining among goddesses.

[95] And likewise in Hellenistic art.

hymn preserves something of the same movement from the first person of the singer (lines 1–2, ἀειδόντεσσι . . . ὑμνέομεν) to the child Artemis (lines 4–28) to Zeus (lines 28–40) to Artemis among other divinities (lines 40–45).

There are a few other thematic parallels between the extant verse of Alcaeus and Callimachus—none more than suggestive.[96] Again, this may be due to the accident of survival. Alcaeus's stasiotic poetry would have resonated in works of Callimachus now lost to us (either prose or possibly invective work); Alcaeus's erotic poetry, on the other hand, has not survived to allow comparison.

3.3. Concluding with Horace

The Alcaeus of Horace, *Odes* 1.32, is a telling emblem of Alcaeus's later reception, and, incidentally, a frustrating reminder of the problems that beset an attempt to ascertain a Hellenistic reading of Alcaeus:

> age dic Latinum,
> barbite, carmen,
>
> Lesbio primum modulate civi,
> qui ferox bello, tamen inter arma
> sive iactatam religarat udo
> litore navim,
>
> Liberum et Musas Veneremque et illi
> semper harentem puerum canebat
> et Lycum nigris oculis nigroque
> crine decorum.

> Come, lyre, tell a Latin song, first played by a citizen of Lesbos, who, though in war savage, yet among his weapons, or when he had tied his storm-tossed ship to a wet shore, sang of Liber and the Muses, of Venus and of the boy who ever clings to her side, and of Lycus, with his black eyes and black hair resplendent.

Horace evokes Alcaeus's political poetry in the second stanza.[97] At the same time, he also evokes poetry of wine and love in the subsequent lines. This configuration of the dual character of Alcaeus's verse becomes fairly standard.[98] In

[96] These include the imagery of memory and childhood in fr. 75, and that of the aged singer in fr. 50. The grizzled singer, though, is a topos of lyric poetry.

[97] Whether or not we are to understand lines 7–8 as an allusion to Alcaeus's "ship of state" allegory. Cf. Nisbet and Hubbard 1970: 363.

[98] Cf. Cic. *Tusc*. 4.71, "fortis vir in sua republica cognitus quae de iuvenum amore scribit Alcaeus," "though a strong man and admired in his political world, what things Alcaeus wrote of his love of boys!" Quint. *Inst*. 10.1.63, "sed et lusit et in amores descendit, maioribus tamen aptior," "but he was frivolous and sunk to his love affairs, though fit for greater things"; Athen. 687d, καὶ ὁ

his recreation of Lesbian lyric, Horace is self-consciously setting out on his own innovative act of artistic reconfiguration.[99] At the same time, he is a reader of Alcaeus in his Alexandrian edition—that is, Alcaeus the object of Alexandrian study and exegesis. Horace is further a reader of Alexandrian poets who themselves reconfigured Alcaeus into their own poetry. Horace is thus a witness in two ways for an inquiry into the Alexandrian reception of Alcaeus, for how the Alexandrians read Alcaeus and for what they read. The lines cited above from *Odes* 1.32 revealingly encapsulate both aspects of Horace as witness. The following two questions outline these two aspects. Is this two-part summary of Alcaeus's poetry, political and not, reflected in the two stanzas of Horace 1.32, in fact also reflective of the Alexandrian edition of Alcaeus (the political poems followed by the nonpolitical ones, and so an associative sequence of reading)? And is it possible, even given the meager surviving shreds of Alcaeus's nonpolitical lyric verse, to construe something of their nature from later evocation and imitation? In other words, is Lycus, beautiful with his black eyes and black hair,[100] a figure plausibly attributed to Alcaeus, or an Alcaic figure of Horace's invention? Or even the Alcaic figure of an intervening imitation, as for example one by Asclepiades?

I close with an example of a possible Horatian recollection of Alcaeus that can be perceived in part through a Theocritean one. This Alcaic recollection in Horace is a remaining filament of what was once a large and complex intertextual association, as Horace's choice of Alcaic meter and figure in his poetry makes clear.

Among Alcaeus's hymnic poems is one to the river Hebrus (fr. 45); the opening lines of this poem are largely preserved:[101]

ϔΕβρε, κ[άλ]λιστος ποτάμων πὰρ Ạ[ἶνον
ἐξί[ηcθ' ἐc] πορφυρίαν θάλαccαν
Θραικ[. . . ἐρ]ευγόμενος ζὰ ̣γαίας
.]ιππ[.]. [. .]ι̣· 4

ἀνδρειότατος δέ, προσέτι δὲ καὶ πολεμικὸς ποιητὴς Ἀλκαῖος ἔφη· κἀδ δὲ χευάτω μύρον ἄδυ κὰτ τὼ | στήθεος ἄμμι, "and the most courageous, and besides this bellicose poet Alcaeus said, 'Let sweet perfume be poured down upon my breast.'"

[99] Itself the subject of a vast scholarly bibliography: cf. (inter alia) Fränkel 1957: 154–178; Lowrie 1997: 39, 128–29, 203–5, 209; Woodman 2002: 53–64.

[100] Cf. Callim. *Ep*. 6.1–2 GP (52.1–2 Pf.), τὸν τὸ καλὸν μελανεῦντα Θεόκριτον εἰ μὲν ἔμ' ἔχθει | τετράκι μισοίης, εἰ δὲ φιλεῖ φιλέοις, "beautiful dark Theocritus, if he hates me, hate you him four times as much; but if he loves me, do you so much love him."

[101] A *corōnis* in the left margin of *P.Oxy*. 1233 fr. 9, 9 (v. 1 *init*.), marks this as the opening line of a new poem.

In line 2, note that while πορφύρειος is a fairly frequent Homeric epithet, even of water, it is not used in Homer of the sea's color, for which the standard epithet is οἶνοψ, "wine-dark." The variation appears to be Alcaeus's own adaptation of epic imagery.

[—]
καί σε πόλλαι παρθένικαι πέ. [
. . . .]λων μήρων ἀπάλαισι χέρ[σι
. . . .]α· θέλγονται το. ὸν ὡς ἄλει[ππα
θή[ϊο]ν ὕδωρ 8

Hebrus, most beautiful of rivers, by A(enus) you (flow into) the glancing sea, surging through the land of Thrace (. . .) and you many maidens (. . .) of thighs with gentle hands (. . .) They are enchanted by (your?) divine water like perfumed oil.

The length of the original poem is unknown, and many questions must remain unanswered. (For example, was the Hebrus in other ways personified or anthropomorphized?) There is some reason to think that the river Hebrus, likely as a result of this poem, becomes closely associated osver time with Alcaeus. At Theocritus, *Idyll* 7.111–12, Simichidas, in his sardonic address to the god Pan, threatens him with transference to the northern ends of the earth, by the Hebrus:[102]

εἴης δ' Ἠδωνῶν μὲν ἐν ὤρεσι χείματι μέσσῳ
Ἔβρον πὰρ ποταμὸν τετραμμένος ἐγγύθεν Ἄρκτω,

May you find yourself among the Edoneans' mountains in midwinter, set along the river Hebrus all the way far north.

Krevans has shown that in their competitive exchange of bucolic song Simichidas here is capping Lycidas's Thracian setting (lines 76–77, ὑφ' Αἵμον | ἢ Ἄθω ἢ Ῥοδόπαν ἢ Καύκασον ἐσχατόωντα, "below Haemus, or Athos, or Rhodopus, or the farthest Caucasus").[103] The capping here may have a second level. Lycidas designates the opening of his song as Alcaic; Simichidas may well be capping the Alcaic color of his competitor's song with his own Alcaic figure, the river Hebrus.

The scholiast's comment on line 112 is worth considering here: Ἀλκαῖός φησιν, ὅτι Ἔβρος κάλλιστος ποταμῶν, διὰ Θρᾴκης δὲ καταφέρεσθαι αὐτὸν ἀπὸ Ῥοδόπης καὶ ἐξερεύγεσθαι κατὰ πόλιν Αἶνον ("Alcaeus says that Hebrus, the most beautiful of rivers, is borne through Thrace from Rhodope and surges along the city of Aenus") is a paraphrase of the opening lines of Alcaeus's poem. But the act of citation itself is more important here. Scholiasts' poetic associations are rarely random, and it is likely that the scholiast identifies both parallel and model.

[102] On the difficulties in translating line 112, τετραμμένος ἐγγύθεν, see Hunter 1999: 185.
[103] Krevans 1983: 218.

A similar complex resonance occurs at Horace, *Odes* 3.12.4–7 ("Miserarum est"):

> tibi qualum Cythereae puer ales, tibi telas
> operosaeque Minervae studium aufert, Neobule,
> Liparei nitor Hebri,
>
> simul unctos Tiberinis umeros lavit in undis,

Your basket Cytherea's winged boy takes away, your woven web, your diligence for busy Minerva, Neobule, as soon as radiant Liparean Hebrus washes his anointed shoulders in Tiber's waves.

This poem is a complex recreation of another poem of Alcaeus (fr. 10), in the same meter as this Alcaic model.[104] Here I want to highlight one feature, the figure of Hebrus, the apparent young lover of the poem's central figure and speaker, Neobule.[105] Elsewhere in Horace, Hebrus is the Thracian river, and is so specifically characterized: *Odes* 3.25.10–12, "Hebrum prospiciens et nive candidam | Thracen ac pede barbaro | lustratam Rhodopen" ("looking upon the Hebrus and Thrace white with snow and Rhodope beaten by barbarian foot"); *Epistles* 1.3.3, "Thracane vos Hebrusque nivali compede vinctus" ("do Thrace or the Hebrus bound by snowy fetter [*sc*. delay you]); *Epistles* 1.16.12–13, "ut nec | frigidior Thraecam nec purior ambiat Hebrus" ("that neither cooler nor more purely does Hebrus surround Thrace"). But Liparean Hebrus, radiant and with anointed shoulders, washed now in the Tiber's waves, is more intriguing. Lipara (now Lipari) is the largest of the so-called Aeolian Islands off the north coast of Sicily. Does the homonymous play on "aeolius"/"aeolius" ("Aeolic" = of the Lipari / "Aeolic" = Aeolic the dialect of Lesbos) in fact point to Alcaeus's Hebrus? The imagery of these lines, "nitor," "unctos," "lavit," might recall some of the dazzling imagery of Alcaeus fragment 45, πορφυρίαν, ἄλει[ππα, and the washing image, if Page's supposition is correct, that occurred at line 6.[106] At the same time there is a pun in the words "Liparei nitor" on the Greek word λιπαρός, "shiny" (often from olive oil, especially when used at the gymnasium). The same epithet thus alludes to Alcaeus's ἄλει[ππα (metaphor of the Hebrus), is the key to evoking Alcaeus's Aeolic poetry, and may even be meant to recall Alcaeus's famed homoerotic imagery.[107] The encoded image of Alcaeus's Hebrus washed in Horace's Tiber is then a striking encapsulation of Horace's poetic act of *translatio*, in general in the *Odes* and specifically here in his rendition of Alcaeus fragment 10.

[104] Ionics *a minore*, apparently the meter of several of Alcaeus's poems but only here in Horace's *Odes*.

[105] On the evolution of the speaker's identity in the poem, see Syndikus 1973: 126–27.

[106] Page 1955: 286.

[107] I am grateful to one of the anonymous press readers for furthering my thoughts on this line.

Appendix

The Alexandrian Edition of Alcaeus

Papyri from Oxyrhynchus have given us much of the Alcaeus that we have, and also considerable information on Alexandrian Alcaeus scholarship.[108] There remain, however, significant gaps in our knowledge of this poet's reception in Alexandria. Our own reading of Alcaeus, one that often prefers to seek in Alcaeus a testimonial to the political and social world of the Archaic polis rather than anything else, can unduly affect our understanding of his later reception. The *hetaireia* and its immediate associations, points of reference familiar to the poet and his original audience, take on a very different life in later book form and at a much later time. A. Pardini has recently phrased this insightfully in his study of the Alexandrian edition of Alcaeus:[109]

> Va ricordato, inoltre, che il nostro lavoro si svolge su più livelli. Non basta, infatti, ricostruire un'ode nei suoi contenuti e nella sua funzione nel contesto del simposio, ma occorre anche individuare come gli Alessandrini si ponevano di fronte a questi carmi.

Further, our later reading of this reception is one that is necessarily prejudiced by our own expectations of the Archaic poet. In part we search for the categories that have become embedded in our own reception, be these through histories of Greek culture or literature, or our own creation of a figure of the poet that arises in our reading of his work. The situation is analogous in some ways to the Victorians', and subsequently our own, portrayal of Sappho.[110] Artistic portrayals of Alcaeus are revealing. Alma-Tadema's 1881 painting is, as noted earlier, a striking example of a later configuration.

To read Alcaeus as the Alexandrian poets did, or to attempt to do so, necessitates recognizing that our perspective is already distorted by images external to their world. Therefore let us step back for a moment and begin by reviewing the concrete information that we possess.

An assortment of ancient sources confirms that Alcaeus's lyric poems (μέλη) were contained in at least ten books. These are collected in Voigt's 1971 edition as A 453. The testimonia are important, both for what they give and for what they omit. For that reason I reproduce them in Voigt's ordering here. Note that while these attest the existence of ten books of *melē*, this need not have been the whole of Alcaeus's poetic output.[111] We can deduce only that there were at least 10 books of *melē*.

[108] The latter is the subject of Porro's illuminating 1994 study. See also Nicosia 1976.
[109] Pardini 1991b: 267.
[110] Prins's *Victorian Sappho* (1999) is a paradigmatic reading of this process.
[111] Pardini 1991b: 268 n. 2.

a. Schol. A. in Heph. Poëm. 3 p. 169, 23ss. C (= test. A. 307a, 308) καὶ ἔστι τῆς μὲν πρώτης ᾠδῆς ἀρχή· . . .· τῆς ‹δὲ› δευτέρας· κτλ· cf. P.Oxy. 2734 fr. 1, unde patet A. 343 libri primi carmen tert. fuisse, et Heph. Poëm. 3, 6, p. 66 C. (grammatici additamentum) ὥςπερ εἴ τις τὴν πρώτην ᾠδὴν ἐν τῷ πρώτῳ Ἀλκαίου καὶ τὴν δευτέραν cυνάψειε cυcτηματικῆς οὔcης αὐτῶν ἑκατέρας κτλ. A.D. Pron. 1, 106, 6ss. Schn. (= test. A. 310, 311) Ἀλκαῖος ἐν πρώτῳ ibid. 1, 100, 12ss. Schn. (= test. A. 309) Ἀλκαῖος πρώτῳ

b. A.D. Pron. 1, 101, 3ss. Schn. (= test. A. 313) Ἀλκαῖος δευτέρῳ Poll. 4, 169 et 10, 113 (= test. A. 417A) παρ' Ἀλκαίῳ (. . .) ἐν δευτέρῳ μελῶν

c. A.D. Pron. 1, 97, 25ss. Schn. (= test. A. 314) Ἀλκαῖος τρίτῳ

d. ibid. p. 97, 10ss. (= test. A. 315) ἐν τετάρτῳ Ἀλκαίου

e. P.Bouriant 8, 55ss. (= test. A. 316) Ἀλκαῖος . . . κἀν τε[τάρ]τωι (fort. κἀν τῷ[ι αὐ]τωι [= decimo] LP) κἀν ἕκτωι

f. A.D. Pron. 1, 80, 10ss. Schn. (= test. A. 317) παρὰ τῷ αὐτῷ Ἀλκαίῳ ἐν ἑβδόμῳ

g. Harp. 168, 21 Bekk. (= test. A. 318) Ἀλκαῖος ἐν η′ (codd. ABCEFG, ἐν κ′ cod. D)

h. Schol. A Θ 178 (= test. A. 319) Ἀλκαῖος ἐνάτῳ Et. Gen. A et B (cf. p. 230 Miller) = EM 639, 31s.; Schol. marc. in D.T. p. 318, 5ss. Hilg. (= test. A. 320) παρὰ Ἀλκαίῳ ἐν τῷ ἐνάτῳ (ἐν ἐνάτῳ μέλει Schol. Marc.) P.Bouriant 8, 93s.(= test. A. 321) Ἀλκαῖος ἐν ἐνάτωι

i. Ath. 11, 480f–481a (= test. A. 322) Ἀλκαῖος . . . καὶ ἐν τῷ δεκάτῳ P.Bouriant 8, 55s. (= test. A. 323) Ἀλκαῖος ἐν δεκάτω[ι ibid. 8, 60ss. (= test. A. 324) . . . ἐν δεκάτῳ

These books were known, at least to these sources, by their ordinal numeration, and not, it appears, by any sort of secondary title.[112] There is thus no evidence for assuming books of hymns, erotic poetry, or *skolia*, all of which have been assumed (and continue to be assumed) in the scholarship on Alcaeus. That is, there is no reason to assume that the books of Alcaeus were organized generically, as were, for example, the books of Pindar's poetry.

A scholion to Hephaestion's *On Poems* supplies the information that fragments 307 and 308 were the opening poems of Book 1.[113] A papyrus (*P.Oxy.*

[112] Pardini 1991b, passim.

[113] Alc. fr. 307a (EIC ΑΠΟΛΛΩΝΑ): ὤναξ Ἄπολλον, παῖ μεγάλω Δίος, "lord Apollo, child of great Zeus"; Alc. fr. 308 (EIC ΕΡΜΗΝ): χαῖρε Κυλλάνος ὀ μέδεις, cὲ γάρ μοι | θῦμος ὕμνην, τὸν

2734 fr. 1 = S 264 *SLG*) gives fragment 343 as the third poem of the same book.[114] The first book of Alcaeus's lyric poems thus opened with three hymnic compositions in different if related meters.[115] For a lyric edition to open with a hymnic piece is not unusual. The Alexandrian editions of Sappho and Anacreon both opened with a hymn.[116] And Horace plays upon Sappho's opening hymn in the opening poem of *Odes* 4.[117] Artistic ordering opening with hymns also occurs on a larger scale, as in the grouping of Pindar's poems in seventeen books that begins with his *Hymns*.[118]

The evidence provided by papyri suggests that neither metrical nor more narrow thematic groupings informed the order of the poems within books.[119] Rather, as A. Pardini (1991b) has shown, the papyri do suggest a differentiation of political and nonpolitical poems or, more specifically, στασιωτικά and nonσταστιωτικά. In the conclusion to her 1994 study of the commentary tradition of Alcaeus that is preserved by papyri, A. Porro has carried Pardini's results a step further, showing that the ordering of poems that might be termed στασιωτικά follows a chronology of Alcaeus's political life. This chronological ordering becomes particularly revealing when we consider other Hellenistic poetry collections. One parallel would be Pindar's epinicians, originally ordered by the foundation date of the festival.[120] Another parallel situation is pro-

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κορύφαις' ἐν αὔταις | Μαῖα γέννατο Κρονίδαι μίγεισα | παμβασίλῆϊ, "hail, ruler of Cyllene, for my heart bids me sing of you in hymn, whom Maia bore, on lying with the son of Cronus, king of all."

[114] Alc. fr. 343, Νύμφαι, ταὶς Δίος ἐξ αἰγιόχω φαῖσι τετυχμέναις, "nymphs, fashioned, they say, from Aegis-bearing Zeus." The fourteen fragments of *P.Oxy*. 2734 are apparently the remains of a prose summary of Alcaeus's lyric poems, not unlike *P.Mil.Vogl.* I.18, the *diēgēsis* of Callimachus's poems (Porro 1994: 132). The longest surviving fragment (fr. 1) includes (with restorations) the opening lines of the first two poems of Book 1 (the first lines of frr. 307 and 308) and the opening line of fr. 343, which was then the third poem of Book 1. The lemmata of the three poems are separated by five and eight lines of text, respectively; the textual summaries in the Callimachus *diēgēsis* are also not of uniform length. Frr. 6–7 of the same papyrus preserve the first three lines of fr. 208a, ἀσυν‹ν›έτημμι τὼν ἀνέμων στάσιν, | τὸ μὲν γὰρ ἔνθεν κῦμα κυλίνδεται, | τὸ δ' ἔνθεν, "I understand not the position of the winds, for one wave is rolled from this side, one from another."

[115] Fr. 307a is in Alcaic strophes; fr. 308 is in Sapphic strophes; fr. 343 is an extended glyconic.

[116] Sappho fr. 1; Anacreon *PMG* 346 = fr. 1 G. See Pardini 1991b: 277–78.

[117] Barchiesi 2000: 172–73.

[118] Pfeiffer 1968: 183–84 and 184 n. 1.

[119] A theory of Wilamowitz (1914: 231), and one widely repeated. Pardini (1991b) has shown that neither of these orderings is supported by the papyri. Pardini also questions (ibid. 266 and n. 2) Wilamowitz's assumption that an edition of Alcaeus so ordered served as Horace's model in his arrangement of the *Odes*. Pardini is correct, at least in part, in doubting Wilamowitz's rationale. At the same time, however, the new epigram collection preserved by *P.Mil.Vogl.* VIII 309 raises new questions about aesthetic ordering of texts quite early in the Hellenistic period; not only authors themselves but also editors may well have been interested in the aesthetic presentation of texts. See further Krevans 2004.

[120] The order of the *Isthmian* and *Nemean* odes came to be later reversed in the codex edition. See further Pardini 1991b: 263–64; Irigoin 1952: 35–44.

vided by collections of Hellenistic poetry. Both the new Posidippus epigrams preserved on papyrus (*P.Mil.Vogl.* VIII 309) and Callimachus's *Aetia* could be said to follow a type of chronological ordering. The *Aetia* would be particularly relevant if we are to identify Arsinoe II as the tenth Muse at the opening of Book 1, as two papyri suggest, one a fragment of scholia to *Aetia* fragment 3 M (*P.Lit.Lond.* 181.43) and the other a commentary fragment to the same line of the *Aetia* (*P.Oxy.* 2262 fr. a 10–15).[121] We would then have Arsinoe II (wife of Ptolemy II) as the royal figure of the opening of the *Aetia* and Berenice II as the royal figure of the opening and closing of *Aetia* 3 and 4. This would give the *Aetia* a loose chronological structure, at least in the frame of the poem.

A. Porro's study (1994) highlights the wealth of scholarship on Alcaeus that flourished in the second century BCE. We know, however, that there was a standard edition of Alcaeus already in the second century BCE, that of Aristarchus, based in turn on that of Aristophanes of Byzantium. The testimonium, from Hephaestion's *On Signs* (74.8–14 Consbr.), is revealing both as a comment on association of lyric poets and on evolving changes of poetic ordering:

> καὶ μάλιστα εἴωθεν ὁ ἀστερίσκος τίθεσθαι, ἐὰν ἑτερόμετρον ᾖ τὸ ᾄσμα τὸ ἑξῆς· ὃ καὶ †μᾶλλον ἐπὶ τῶν ποιημάτων τῶν μονοστροφικῶν γίνεται Σαπφοῦς τε καὶ Ἀνακρέοντος καὶ Ἀλκαίου· ἐπὶ δὲ τῶν Ἀλκαίου ἰδίως κατὰ μὲν τὴν Ἀριστοφάνειον ἔκδοσιν ἀστερίσκος ἐπὶ ἑτερομετρίας ἐτίθετο μόνης, κατὰ δὲ τὴν νῦν τὴν Ἀριστάρχειον καὶ ἐπὶ ποιημάτων μεταβολῆς.
>
> And it was especially the custom to place an *asteriskos* if the next song were of a different meter. This occurred (even more?) with the monostrophic poems of Sappho and Anacreon and Alcaeus. With the poems of Alcaeus in particular, in the edition of Aristophanes an *asteriskos* is placed to mark change in meter, whereas in the current edition of Aristarchus this occurs to mark change of poem.

This passage has been the subject of some interpretive dispute. It has been suggested that two concurrent editions of Alcaeus are at issue here, but the more natural reading is to take τὴν νῦν as adversative.[122] In that case it appears from the author's reference τὴν νῦν τὴν Ἀριστάρχειον that Aristarchus's edition of Alcaeus had become the standard by this time.[123] This edition was marked with an *asteriskos* to indicate transition from poem to poem (an organizational strategy confirmed by the papyri),[124] whereas that of Aristophanes had been

[121] These are both apparently interpretations of the Callimachus text; see further Massimilla *ad loc.*; D'Alessio 1996: 379 n. 29; Cameron 1995: 141–42; also Fantuzzi and Hunter 2002: 71–72.

[122] Porro 1994: 4; Pardini 1991b: 260.

[123] Cf. Hephaest. *Poem.* IV 8 (p. 68 Consbr.), κατὰ μὲν γὰρ τὴν νῦν ἔκδοσιν, of Aristarchus's edition of Anacreon: see further Pfeiffer 1968: 185; and below, chapter 4, section 4.4, "The Alexandrian Edition of Anacreon."

[124] Pardini 1991b: 259 n. 1.

marked by an *asteriskos* to indicate change of meter.[125] This edition of Aristarchus becomes the standard, the one reflected in the commentary tradition. It is the one that Horace would have had before him as he composed his *Odes*.

The commentary tradition preserved by papyri is particularly rich for the second century CE.[126] Although of a later period than the Alexandrian poets whose work is the focus of this study, this tradition provides a number of clues to the later reading of Archaic poetry. And it is itself in direct descent from the scholarly tradition of the earlier Hellenistic period, including Aristophanes' work on lyric poets and Callimachus's *Pinakes*.[127] From the wealth of information on the Alexandrian reading of Alcaeus, there are three features that are particularly worth highlighting here. First, the association of canonical lyric poets together as objects of study,[128] an association that surely encourages comparison and contrast in later artistic imitation as well. (Horace's use of Alcaeus and Anacreon in the *Odes* is emblematic of such associative imitation.) Second, the commentary tradition and the evaluation of later poetic criticism highlight the challenges posed in reading Archaic Aeolic.[129] The choice of later poets to

[125] Metrical heterogeneity as an organizing strategy finds some parallels in early Hellenistic poetry—e.g., Callimachus's *Iambi*.

[126] For speculation on the proximate causes for awakened interest in Alcaeus in this period, see Porro 1994: 17–18. It may be worth keeping the evolution of the Second Sophistic in mind, with its interest in rhetoric—lyric poetry would, in many respects, fall under the larger category of rhetoric. Longus's interest in the earlier persuasive and declarative art of Mytilene is a good example here.

[127] *P.Oxy*. 21.2307 fr. 4 (306d V) line 2, πίναξ, and line 6, πι]νακίδος, are intriguing; it is not possible to tell what the exact referent is here.

[128] This is a tendency that finds vivid emphasis at Cic. *De Nat. Deor*. 1.79.24, "quid denique homines doctissimi et summi poetae de se ipsis et carminibus edunt et cantibus? fortis vir in sua republica cognitus quae de iuvenum num amore scribit Alcaeus! nam Anacreontis quidem tota poesis est amatoria. maxume vero omnium flabrasse amore Reginum Ibycum apparet et scripsis," "What then did these very learned men and great poets publish of themselves in their poems and songs? Though a strong man and admired in his political world, what things Alcaeus wrote of his love for boys! For almost the whole of Anacreon's poetry is erotic. Truly most of all Ibycus of Rhegium seems to have breathed with love in his writing." Cf. Schol. to Pind. *Isth*. II 1b = II 213 Drachm., ταῦτα δὲ τείνει εἰς τοὺς περὶ Ἀλκαῖον καὶ Ἴβυκον καὶ Ἀνακρέοντα, καὶ εἴ τινες τῶν πρὸ αὐτοῦ δοκοῦσι περὶ τὰ παιδικὰ ἠσχολῆσθαι· οὗτοι γὰρ παλαιότεροι Πινδάρου· Ἀνακρέοντα γοῦν ἐρωτηθέντα, φασί, διατί οὐκ εἰς θεοὺς ἀλλ' εἰς παῖδας γράφειν τοὺς ὕμνους εἰπεῖν, ὅτι οὗτοι ἡμῶν θεοί εἰσιν: "These things pertain to those who write about Alcaeus and Ibycus and Anacreon, and any of those who seem to have been engaged in writing about love of boys. For these predate Pindar. And indeed they say that Anacreon, asked wherefore we do not write hymns to boys rather than the gods, [*sc.* "answered"] 'since these are our gods.'" In the papyri that comment on Alcaeus, cf. esp. *P.Oxy*. 21.2307 fr. 14 (306i V) col. 1.11, Ἀ]νακρέων. (See Porro 1994: 112.) This associative tendency occurs already in the fifth century; cf. Arist. *Thesm*. 159–63: ἀλλως τ' ἄμουσόν ἐστι ποιητὴν ἰδεῖν | ἀγρεῖον ὄντα καὶ δασύν. σκέψαι δ' ὅτι | Ἴβυκος ἐκεῖνος κἀνακρέων ὁ Τήιος | κἀλκαῖος, οἵπερ ἁρμονίαν ἐχύμισαν, | ἐμιτροφόρουν τε καὶ διεκλῶντ' Ἰωνικῶς, "And besides it is uncultured to see a poet rough and shaggy. Think of Ibycus and Tean Anacreon and Alcaeus, who poured out harmony, and wore headdresses and moved in Ionic fashion." See Cavallini 1986: 206 n. 10.

[129] Cf. the two accents in *P.Oxy*. 21.2307 frr. 71.7 and 71.9, which appear to mark Aeolic accentuation (see Porro 1994: 61, 220–22); note that the italicized words are the lemmata: *P.Oxy*. 2307

imitate this dialect is one that both implies recognition of this challenge and places the later compositions in a consciously distant space.[130] Third, Alcaeus's use of allegory:[131] the association of allegorizing and Archaic voice—that is, allegory standing in for Archaic authoritative voice—finds parallels in third-century poetry,[132] and it is an essential feature of Horace's recreation of Alcaeus.

Aristophanes' edition of Alcaeus posits a fixed text of the Aeolic poet at a time fairly close to what we conventionally think of as the high point of Hellenistic poetry (the mid-third century). This, however, does not necessarily mean that such an edition existed prior to Aristophanes.[133] It is still possible to ascertain with surety some of the material that the poets of this period had at hand. As with other lyric poets, citations of Alcaeus in fifth-century comedy are one witness for how the poet and his poetry were received at a later period. This is part of an evolving tradition of audience reception.[134] There is also evidence of

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col. 2.2–7, *ψόμμος* [ἕως *ὀ{ν}στείχει*·τὸ ῳ [με ταλαμβάνουσιν ἐ]πὶ τὸ α οἱ Αἰολεῖς· καὶ νῦν [τὴν ψάμμον ψόμμον εἴρ[ηκε, "*sand* as far as *comes on*: the Aeolians exchange *o* for *a*; even now ψάμμος is pronounced ψόμμος." See Porro 1994: 113–14; cf. schol. to Arist. *Thesm*. 162 (Alc. fr. 461), ἐν ἐνίοις δὲ Ἀχαιὸς γέγραπται, καὶ τὰ παλαιότερα ἀντίγραφα οὕτως εἶχεν. Ἀριστοφάνης δέ ἐστιν ὁ μεταγράψας Ἀλκαῖος· περὶ γὰρ παλαιῶν ἐστιν ὁ λόγος, ὁ δὲ Ἀχαιὸς νεώτερος. τὸ δὲ λεγόμενον ὑπὸ Διδύμου πρὸς Ἀριστοφάνην, ὅτι οὐ δύναται Ἀλκαίου μνημονεύειν—οὐ γὰρ ἐπεπόλαζε, φησί, τὰ Ἀλκαίου διὰ τὴν διάλεκτον—λελήρηται ἄντικρυς, "In some 'Achaeus' is written, and the older copies have this. It was Aristophanes who changed it to 'Alcaeus'. For the study is of men of long ago, and 'Achaeus' is more recent. And the words of Didymus regarding Aristophanes, that he was not able to remember 'Alcaeus'—for, he said, Aristophanes could not master Alcaeus, because of the dialect—is manifest nonsense." Later, especially rhetorical, criticism perceives Alcaeus's use of Aeolic as a different kind of impediment, obscuring the "immediacy" (σαφήνεια) of his rhetorical utterance. Cf. Dem. Lac. *Περὶ ποιημάτων* col. 64 (Alc. fr. 358); Dion. Hal. *Περὶ μιμήσεως* 2.8; see further Porro 1994: 18–22.

[130] On Theocr. *Id.* 29, see above in this chapter.

[131] Cf. *P.Oxy*. 21.2307 fr. 14.12–13, ἀλ]ληγορῶν χαί | ρει], "he takes pleasure in allegorizing" (Porro 1994: 104–7, esp. her sensible comments on the focus on the interest in allegory in commentary writing [p. 105], which she characterizes as "non . . . in alcun modo un'operazione apologetica, ma esclusivamente esegetica); ibid. col. 2.12–21, διὰ δὲ σκέλη ἤδη κεχώρηκε αὗται· καὶ τὰ σκέλη αὐτῆς πεπαλαίωτα[ι· πύκν]α τε καὶ θάμε̣[α δρομ[οισαι· μένει ἐ]πὶ τῆς ἀλληγορία̣[c . . .]. πεπλευναι αὐτῆ‹ι› διὰ τοῦς πολλοὺς πλοῦς καὶ πυκνοὺς ἤδη π̣[α]λαιὰ γέγονε̣[ν], "already has it gone through her legs; and her limbs are old from many and constant journeys—and he continues the allegory (. . .)—she has grown old with many and frequent journeys" (Porro 1994: 113–17).

[132] Cf. on Callim. *Iambus* 5 (fr. 195 Pf.), Acosta-Hughes 2002: 263–64; Lelli 2004: 115–16.

[133] This is particularly important for the nature of the Alcaic motto with which Theocritus opens *Idyll* 29. On the vexed question of whether Zenodotus's name is to be read in the margin of *P.Oxy*. 2165 fr. 1 col. 1 to line 4, see Voigt *ad loc*.; Porro 1994: 7 n. 23. This reading was first proposed by Gallavotti 1956: II 29, who also suggested that the zeta he perceived in the margin might stand for Z(enobius); Porro (*loc. cit.*) doubts that the zeta, if in fact it is there, represents a proper name. She suggests rather an abbreviation for ζήτει, ζητεῖται.

[134] Cf. Aristoph. *Wasps* 1232–35, which supplies part of the Alcaeus text preserved by *P.Oxy*. 2295 fr. 2. (Alcaeus 141); and MacDowell 1971: 291–92; Athen. 15.693f attributes a line of Aristophanes' *Daitalēs* (fr. 235 KA) to Alcaeus (fr. 466), ᾄσον δή μοι σκόλιόν τι λαβὼν Ἀλκαίου κἀνακρέοντος, "come sing to me, taking up a *skolion* of Alcaeus and Anacreon." See further Cavallini 1986: 92, 200.

an extensive pre-Hellenistic scholarship on Alcaeus in prose. Aristotle cites Alcaeus in the *Politics* for evidence that Pittacus was chosen tyrant of Mitylene by his countrymen, a passage that preserves fragment 348, τὸν κακοπατρίδα‹ν› | Φίττακον πόλιος τὰς ἀχόλω καὶ βαρυδαίμονος | ἐστάσαντο τύρρανον, μέγ' ἐπαίνεντες ἀόλλες ("ill-born Pittacus they set up as tyrant of a spineless and ill-starred city, all praising him greatly").[135] Aristotle's student Dicaearchus composed a *Περὶ Ἀλκαίου*, which is assumed to have comprised both biographical information and some literary commentary.[136] The Peripatetic Chamaeleon, to whom numerous works on individual lyric poets are ascribed (although Alcaeus is not among them), composed a *Περὶ μέθης*, which may have been the source of Athenaeus 10.429f–30d (Alcaeus fr. 464), a passage that includes Alcaeus fragment 346.4, ἔγχεε κέρναις ἕνα καὶ δύο ("he poured out for one and two pots"), and several other citations from Alcaeus on drinking.[137] There is, finally, Herodotus, who refers (5.94) to a specific poem of Alcaeus on the battle for Sigeum.[138]

When the poets of the early Hellenistic period engage with Alcaeus, they come in contact with a figure already the object of a multileveled reception in later poetic forms, philosophical discourse on poets and poetry, and the local history of Mytilene. Alcaeus is thus already emblematic of the complex evolution of singer to figure of cultural memorialization and artistic metaphor. This evolution continues in third-century Alexandria and into Horatian ode.

[135] Arist. *Pol.* 1285^{a}33–85^{b}1: ἦρχον [*sc.* οἱ αἰσυμνήτες] δ' οἱ μὲν διὰ βίου τὴν ἀρχὴν, οἱ δὲ μέχρι τινῶν ὡρισμένων χρόνων ἢ πράξεων, οἷον εἵλοντό ποτε Μυτιληναῖοι Πιττακὸν πρὸς τοὺς φυγάδας ὧν προειστήδεσαν Ἀντιμενίδης καὶ Ἀλκαῖος ὁ ποιητής. δηλοῖ δ' Ἀλκαῖος ὅτι τύραννον εἵλοντο τὸν Πιττακὸν ἔν τινι τῶν σκολιῶν μελῶν· ἐπιτιμᾷ γὰρ ὅτι "τὸν κακοπάτριδα Πίττακον πόλιος τᾶς ἀχόλω καὶ βαρυδαίμονος ἑστάσαντο τύραννον μέγ' ἐπαινέοντες ἀόλλεες": "They [*sc.* the princes] ruled then, some attaining their office by force, others for certain set periods or achievements, as when the Mytileneans chose Pittacus against the exiles led by Antimenides and the poet Alcaeus. Alcaeus makes it clear that they chose Pittacus as tyrant in one of his *skolia*. For he censures them, saying, 'Ill-born Pittacus they set up as tyrant of a spineless and ill-starred city, all praising him greatly.'" On this passage, and especially the definition of σκόλιον intended here, see Porro 1994: 6; Pardini 1991b: 271–72.

[136] Wehrli 1967: 33–34, 73–74. See further Porro 1994: 7–11; Cannatà Fera 2002: 98, 102, 106–7.

[137] The speaker in Athenaeus criticizes Chaemaeleon as having little understanding of Alcaeus's *philoinia*; see further Porro 1994: 11–12; Wehrli 1969: 51–52, 74; Scorza 1934: 39. It is worth noting that moderation in drinking, the faculty Athenaeus claims Chamaeleon erroneously ascribes to Alcaeus, finds parallels not only in Plato's *Symposium* but also in some Hellenistic poetry, esp. (e.g.) Callim. fr. 178 (*Ician Guest*).

[138] Ταῦτα δὲ Ἀλκαῖος ἐν μέλεϊ ποιήσας ἐπιτιθεῖ ἐς Μυτιλήνην ἐξαγγελλόμενος τὸ ἑαυτοῦ πάθος Μελανίππῳ ἀνδρὶ ἑταίρῳ, "these things Alcaeus set in one of his songs, sent to Mytilene announcing his own experience to his friend and companion Melanippus."

CHAPTER 4

From Samos to Alexandria

EARLIER COURT POETS AND THEIR LEGACIES

Anacreon and Ibycus, the two artists whom I discuss in this chapter, were poets resident at the courts of sixth-century tyrants. Their dependent relationships with their powerful patrons, their production of encomiastic poetry, and their erotic poetry composed in the context of a court setting are all factors that make them significant models for the singers of third-century Alexandria. There are further parallels. Neither was an itinerant artist per se, although on account of political circumstances they came to be resident at several different places. One of these was the court of the Samian tyrant Polycrates, where Anacreon lived until the death of Polycrates in 520 BCE. In the third century Samos fell into the Ptolemaic realm of Mediterranean interest. Athens under the Peisistratids, where Anacreon resided after 520, was also characterized by the tyrants' lavish patronage of the arts. Whether or not Anacreon was actually brought to Samos as tutor to Polycrates, as Himerius (*Or*. 29.22) suggests, the parallel with later Ptolemaic court poets certainly exists in Anacreon's later doxography.[1] And a court that knew poetry sung in varied dialects and meters would indeed have been a pertinent cultural model for a later court that controlled Samos, among other overseas possessions.

[1] Himer. *Or*. 29.22, p. 132 Colonna (text after Campbell 1988: II 134): ἦν Πολυκράτης ἔφηβος, ὁ δὲ Πολυκράτης οὗτος οὐ βασιλεὺς Σάμιου μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῆς Ἑλληνικῆς ἁπάσης θαλάσσης, 'ἀφ' ἧς γαῖα ὁρίζεται.' ὁ δ‹ὲ› ⟦ἤγουν τῆς Ῥόδου secl. Labarbe⟧ Πολυκράτης ἤρα μουσικῆς καὶ μελῶν, καὶ τὸν πατέρα ἔπειθε συμπράξαι αὐτῶι πρὸς τὸν τῆς μουσικῆς ἔρωτα. ὁ δὲ Ἀνακρέοντα τὸν μελοποιὸν μεταπεμψάμενος δίδωσι τῶι παιδὶ τοῦτον τῆς ἐπιθυμίας διδάσκαλον, ὑφ' ὧι τὴν βασιλικὴν ἀρετὴν ὁ παῖς διὰ τῆς λύρας πονῶν τὴν Ὁμερικὴν ἔμελλε πληρώσειν εὐχὴν τῶι πατρὶ, Πολυκράτης ‹καὶ› (add. West) πάντων (Πολυκράτει πάντα R) κρείσσων ἐσόμενος, "Polycrates was an ephebe, and this Polycrates was king not only of Samos, but of the whole Hellenic sea, 'by which the earth is divided.' Polycrates loved music and songs, and persuaded his father to assist him in this love of music. So his father sent for Anacreon, the lyric poet, and gave this man to his son as tutor of his desire. Under his instruction the youth working with his lyre seemed likely to fulfill the Homeric prayer for his father, being both 'very powerful' and better than anyone else." Hutchinson (2001: 257–58) doubts the likelihood of this anecdote, on the grounds that a sixth-century tyrant would be unlikely to engage a poet as tutor for his son, but this objection seems anachronistic. Music and song in particular are at issue. Theocr. 24.105–6 (Linus as tutor, here of letters, to Heracles) is an interesting parallel. However, given Himerius's date, it is quite possible that Himerius is rather influenced by the Ptolemaic court practice of a prominent poet serving as tutor to the crown prince.

Polycrates' court was wealthy and cosmopolitan, and the setting for artists of varied dialects and origins. As would later be true of Hellenistic kings, culture was drawn from elsewhere in the Greek world to the court of Polycrates. The situation of Samos, a Greek tyranny facing the Lydian (and finally Persian) East, implicates a multiculturalism that prefigures the situation of the Ptolemaic Macedonian and Greek ruling class in Hellenistic Egypt.[2] Polycrates' rule was associated with major temple foundations. The prominence of Hera's cult at Samos in Book 4 of Callimachus's *Aetia* is worth noting here. And Samos is important in the foreign policy of the early Ptolemies—witness Callicrates of Samos, who appears four times in the epigrams of Posidippus, in one as the founder of the shrine of Arsinoe-Aphrodite at Zephyrium.[3] The fragmentary first lines of Posidippus 9 AB encapsulate the nexus of these associations:

ἡιρήϲ]ῳ cφρηγ[ῖδα], Πολύκρατες, ἀνδρὸϲ ἀοιδοῦ
τοῦ φο]ρμίζ[οντοϲ coῖϲ] παρὰ π̣[οcc]ὶ̣ λύρην

[You chose] as seal, Polycrates, the lyre of the bard, who used to sing at [your feet].

Here the figure of the poet (thought by some to be Anacreon)[4] is inscribed on Polycrates' seal ring, which is inscribed, in turn, in an epigram, part of a collection that celebrates Ptolemaic rule with continued, dispersed references to their

[2] The Hellenistic kings long continued to use the Greek-Persian opposition in their own iconography, as Barbantani (2003) has convincingly shown; hence the distance in time from the Samian to the Alexandrian court becomes oddly telescoped.

[3] Posidippus, *Ep*. 116 AB (trans. C. Austin):

μέccον ἐγὼ Φαρίηϲ ἀκτῆϲ cτόματόϲ τε Κανώπου
ἐν περιφαινομένωι κύματι χῶρον ἔχω,
τήνδε πολυρρήνου Λιβύηϲ ἀνεμώδεα χηλήν,
τὴν ἀνατεινομένηϲ εἰϲ Ἰταλὸν Ζέφυρον,
ἔνθά με Καλλικράτηϲ ἱδρύcατο καὶ βαcιλίccηϲ
ἱερὸν Ἀρcινόηϲ Κύπριδοϲ ὠνόμαcεν.
ἀλλ᾽ ἐπὶ τὴν Ζεφυρῖτιν ἀκουcομένην Ἀφροδίτην,
Ἑλλήνων ἁγναί, βαίνετε, θυγατέρεϲ,
οἵ θ᾽ ἁλὸϲ ἐργάται ἄνδρεϲ· ὁ γὰρ ναύαρχοϲ ἔτευξεν
τοῦθ᾽ ἱερὸν παντὸϲ κύματοϲ εὐλίμενον.

Midway between the shore of Pharos and the mouth of Canopus, in the waves visible all around I have my place, this wind-swept breakwater of Libya rich in sheep, facing the Italian Zephyr. Here Callicrates set me up and called me the shrine of Queen Arsinoe-Aphrodite. So then, to her who shall be named Zephyritis-Aphrodite, come, ye pure daughters of the Greeks, and yet too, toilers of the sea. For the captain built this shrine to be a safe harbor from all the waves.

[4] Bing 2005: 121; Gutzwiller 2004: 87; in their commentary to the *editio princeps* Bastianini and Gallazzi (2001: 118) refer to Hdt. 3.121, καὶ τὸν Πολυκράτεα τυχεῖν κατακείμενον ἐν ἀνδρεῶνι, παρεῖναι δέ οἱ Ἀνακρέοντα τὸν Τήιον, "[*sc*. Oroites came upon] Polycrates lying down in the *andreōn*, and Anacreon the Tean was with him." The passage in Herodotus suggests a close association of the two men; it is a rare glimpse of a court poet in situ.

geopolitical and cultural interests. A good comparison with this epigram is Posidippus 37 AB, *Arion's Lyre*, cited in the introduction to this book, dedicated to the Egyptian queen Arsinoe II and with the singer embodied also as object. The famed story of Polycrates' ring (Hdt. 3.40–43) may also come into play here; it was of course an Egyptian king, Amasis, who had the wisdom to interpret this event correctly.

The poetry of Polycrates' court, as we observe it in the fragments of Anacreon and Ibycus, includes encomium (Ibycus fr. 282 *PMGF*), symposiastic poetry (some homoerotic, some not), and what might be called parodic (e.g., Anacreon's Artemon poem, 388 *PMG*).[5] An observation of Maximus of Tyre (37.5) that Anacreon's poetry "gentled" the tyranny of Polycrates for the Samians is revealing for its comment on the role of court poetry, if even in a general sense.[6] Noticeably missing is the political poetry of the type so strongly characteristic of Alcaeus or Theognis.[7] This absence of political agonistic features is itself a significant precursor to later court poetry, not the cultural voice of a competitive city-state. Anacreon is not, in this sense, a poet of the polis.[8]

In Anacreon's case there are further features of his extant poetry that prefigure several signal characteristics of what we have come often to think of as Hellenistic poetics. One is the conscious imitation and variation of earlier lyric, particularly Sappho.[9] Here the seeming confusion that occurs in some testimonia on chronological association of the two poets may belie later reading that recognized their artistic relationship.[10] In this light let us reconsider the Athenaeus passage (13.598b–c) that preserves Anacreon fragment 13G (= 358 *PMG*):[11]

> Χαμαιλέων δ' ἐν τῶι περὶ Σαπφοῦς καὶ λέγειν τινάς φησιν εἰς αὐτὴν πεποιῆσθαι ὑπὸ Ἀνακρέοντος τάδε·
>
> Σφαίρῃ δηὖτέ με πορφυρέῃ
> βάλλων χρυσοκόμης Ἔρως

[5] For bibliography on the Artemon fragments, see Brown 1983: 1 n. 1.

[6] Max. Tyr. 37.5, p. 432 Hob, οὕτω καὶ Ἀνακρέων Σαμίοις Πολυκράτην ἡμέρωσεν κεράσας τῆι τυραννίδι ἔρωτα, Σμερδίου καὶ Κλεοβούλου κόμην καὶ αὐλοὺς Βαθύλλου καὶ ᾠδὴν Ἰωνικήν, "so also Anacreon tempered Polycrates for the Samians, mixing with tyranny the love of Smerdis, the hair of Cleobulus, the flutes of Bathyllus, and the Ionian song." Cf. Max. Tyr. 18.9, p. 233 Hob.; Vox 1990: 13–14.

[7] Kantzios 2005: 228. Anacreon's court audience as a type of sympotic setting different from that of the *hetaireia* of, e.g., Alcaeus is the subject of Kantzios's study.

[8] Gentili 1958: xi; both Himerius (*Or*. 28.2 Colonna) and Strabo (14.638) attest that Anacreon's poetry celebrated Polycrates. More about this celebratory poetry is not known.

[9] Gentili 1958: xix. Anacreon also recalls Archilochus (see Vox 1990: 37) and Solon (Vox 1990: 39).

[10] On this association, see Yatromanolakis 2007: 124, 174–81, 216–20, 222–24.

[11] For the text(s) of Anacreon I give both Gentili and Page numbers throughout; the text is Gentili's unless otherwise indicated. Two recent editions that I have consulted are Lambin 2002 and Rozokoke 2006.

νήνι ποικιλοσαμβάλῳ
συμπαίζειν προκαλεῖται·

ἡ δ', ἐστὶν γὰρ ἀπ' εὐκτίτου
Λέσβου, τὴν μὲν ἐμὴν κόμην,
λευκὴ γάρ, καταμέμφεται,
πρὸς δ' ἄλλην τινὰ χάσκει.

καὶ τὴν Σαπφὼ δὲ πρὸς αὐτὸν ταῦτά φησιν εἰπεῖν·

κεῖνον ὦ χρυσόθρονε Μοῦσ' ἔνισπες
ὕμνον ἐκ τᾶς καλλιγύναικος ἐσθλᾶς
Τήϊος χώρας ὃν ἄειδε τερπνῶς
πρέσβυς ἀγαυός.

Chamaeleon in his book on Sappho says that some say it was to her that the following were composed by Anacreon: "Again casting with a purple ball golden-haired Love invites me to play together with a girl of many-colored sandal. She, however, for she is from well-founded Lesbos, faults my hair, for it is white, and gapes at another."

And Sappho he says said this to him: "You spoke, golden-throned Muse, a hymn that from the fine land of fair women the Tean pleasantly sang, the noble old man."

The same passage calls attention to a similar temporal confusion in Hermesianax fragment 7.47–51 Powell:

Λέσβιος Αλκαῖος δὲ πόσους ἀνεδέξατο κώμους
Σαπφοῦς φορμίζων ἱμερόεντα πόθον,
γιγνώσκεις· ὁ δ'ἀοιδὸς ἀηδόνος ἠρασαθ', ὕμνων
Τήϊον ἀλγύνων ἄνδρα πολυφραδίῃ.
Καὶ γὰρ τὴν ὁ μελιχρὸς ἐφημίλλητ' Ἀνακρείων

And you know how many revels Lesbian Alcaeus took part in, singing his desirous longing for Sappho on his lyre. The poet loved the nightingale, paining the man of Teos with the eloquence of his songs. For honey-sweet Anacreon was his rival in love.

Athenaeus finds fault with Chamaeleon's chronology, but one wonders whether the ancient fiction, while obviously such, is not indicative of the close association that a reading of both poets, even as they are preserved, immediately highlights. The use of the iterative δηὖτε,[12] the imagery of play, and the assertive use of color terms characterize both poets; further, Anacreon specifically alludes to Sappho: for example, fragment 12 *PMG* (Anacreon's *Prayer to Dionysus*) recalls Sappho's *Prayer to Aphrodite* (fr. 1). Note, for example, the clever reformation of

[12] On δηὖτε in erotic lyric, see Mace 1993.

Sappho's σύμμαχος (fr. 1.28, σύμμαχος ἔcco) at line 4, συμπαίζουσιν, and line 10, σύμβουλος.[13] The new Sappho fragment, with its emphasis on the physicality of old age, brings new texture to the parallel imagery of Anacreon's white hair.[14]

The association of the two in Hermesianax may reflect a Hellenistic awareness of their artistic similarities. In turn, an awareness of Anacreon's reading of Sappho would have strengthened his appeal for later poets also evoking Sappho. And note Hermesianax's word choice. On one level the passage of course reads as an erotic vignette, but that need not be the only reading. A metapoetic reading is equally plausible. Hermesianax is working at both levels. The *Leontion*, at least as we know it, is as much a history of erotic poetry as it is an erotic narrative of poets and their loves.[15] On this reading Alcaeus gives voice to Sappho's poetry (either metrically, allusively, or through reference to Sappho),[16] but Anacreon contests with him in devotion to it. Several terms in this passage (e.g., Σαπφοῦς φορμίζων ἱμερόεντα πόθον, ἀηδόνος, ἐφημίλλητο) can easily support such a reading. The erotic narrative may, indeed, be the result of the artistic association of the two, rather than the other way around.

Anacreon is associated frequently with Sappho in later sources.[17] At one level, this reveals the process of canon formation; Anacreon comes in a sense to be Sappho's male counterpart (as, e.g., at Ov.*RA* 761–62, "me certe Sappho meliorem fecit amicae, | nec rigidos mores Teia Musa dedit").[18] Both Sappho and

[13] Cf. Gentili 1958: xxii n. 55.

[14] Callimachus shares the portrayal of the aged poet-lover with Sappho and Anacreon. Indeed one might rightly suspect Anacreontic influence in a passage like fr. 41, γήράσκει δ' ὁ γέρων κεῖνος ἐλαφρότερον | κοῦροι τὸν φιλέουσιν, ἐὸν δέ μιν οἷα γονῆα | χειρὸς ἐπ' οἰκείην ἄχρις ἄγουσι θύρην, "that old man ages more easily whom boys love, and him as a parent they lead by the hand to his door."

[15] At the time of this writing Hermesianax is enjoying a renewed attention in Hellenistic scholarship; forthcoming work includes a new commentary by M. Di Marco.

[16] On Alcaeus fr. 384 LP, ἰόπλοκ' ἄγνα μελλιχόμειδε Σάπφοι (Voigt reads ἄπφοι), see F. Ferrari 2007: 79, 83; and esp. Yatromanolakis 2007: 168–70. This need not, of course, have been the only reference to Sappho in Alcaeus. See Ferrari 2007: 78–83.

[17] Cf. Pl. *Phdr*. 235c2–4, δῆλον δὲ ὅτι τινῶν ἀκήκοα, ἢ που Σαπφοῦς τῆς καλῆς ἢ Ἀνακρέοντος τοῦ σοφοῦ ἢ καὶ συγγραφέων τινῶν, "clearly I heard this from someone, whether fair Sappho or wise Anacreon or the prose writers"; Himer. Or. 17.2 (p. 105 Colonna = fr. 175 G, 489 *PMG*, Σαπφὼ καὶ Ἀνακρέων ὁ Τήιος, ὥσπερ τι προοίμιον τῶν μελῶν, τὴν Κύπριν ἀναβοῶντες οὐ παύονται, "Sappho and Tean Anacreon, as though some proem to their songs, do not cease from calling on Cypris." Cf. Paus. 1.25.1 (on the statue of Anacreon on the Acropolis), τοῦ δὲ Ξανθίππου πλησίον ἕστηκεν Ἀνακρέων ὁ Τήιος, πρῶτος μετὰ Σαπφὼ τὴν Λεσβίαν τὰ πολλὰ ὧν ἔγραψεν ἐρωτικὰ ποιήσας, "near Xanthippus stands Anacreon of Teos, the first after Lesbian Sappho to have composed mostly erotic poetry." On representations of Anacreon in art, see P. Rosenmeyer 1992: 22–36.

[18] Alcaeus's poetry, consisting of both political and erotic song, also affects his canonical status; e.g., *AP* 9.184.2–3 has Anacreon follow Sappho, whereas Alcaeus at lines 7–8 is characterized for his poetry of civil strife. Cf. also Anacreon fr. 488 *PMG* (Gregory of Corinth on Hermogenes), αἰσχρῶς μὲν κολακεύει τὴν ἀκοὴν ἐκεῖνα ὅσα εἰσὶν ἐρωτικά, οἷον τὰ Ἀνακρέοντος, τὰ Σαπφοῦς κτλ, "such erotica shamefully flatters the ear, e.g., [*sc*. poetry of] Anacreon and Sappho"; Himerius, *Or*. 17.2 (p. 105 Colonna), Σαπφὼ καὶ Ἀνακρέων ὁ Τήιος ὥσπερ τι προοίμιον τῶν μελῶν τὴν Κύπριν ἀναβοῶντες οὐ παύονται, "Sappho and Anacreon do not cease from crying out 'Cypris' as a sort of

Anacreon came to be embodied in editions organized by meter, a commonality that would have associated them in later imaginations. Both are, further, perceived as authors of epigrams. While in the case of Anacreon this is rather more likely (though not of all the epigrams attributed to him),[19] the fact that both poets of primarily lyric meters were thought later to be the authors of epigram collections brings them into an easy pairing in later reception. The confluence of the Leucadian rock in their traditions is one striking example. The image occurs at Anacreon fragment 94 G. (376 *PMG*): Ἀρθεὶς δηὖτ' ἀπὸ Λευκάδος | πέτρης ἐς πολιὸν κῦμα κολυμβέω μεθύων ἔρωτι ("Again risen from Leucas's rock I tumble into the gray sea, drunk with love"). One of Anacreon's most vivid erotic or symposiastic images, this comes to be part of Sappho's later tradition (Ov. *Her*. 15.171–72, "pete protinus altam | Leucada nec saxo desiluisse time," "seek straightway the high cliff of Leucas, and don't fear to jump down from its rock").[20]

Anacreon's extant poetry is further characterized by a metrical *polyeideia*, a feature too of, for instance, his "Alexandrian" emulator Horace.[21] As is also true of Simonides, where the poet's stance vis-à-vis earlier heroic and present time (captured in the pivotal phrase αὐτὰρ ἐγώ at fr. 11.20 W) comes to be repeated by his later emulators in the same compositional move from heroic to contemporary,[22] so Anacreon's preference for symposiastic moderation may recur in later programmatic imagery of preference for moderate as opposed to heavy drinking.[23] Ovid names Anacreon a "praeceptor amoris"—again the parallel with later elegy is striking.[24] His extant lyric poems are, for the most part, fairly short,[25] one reason for this later association with erotic and symposiastic epigram. Anacreon also composed in elegiac couplets; some of the many epigrams

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opening of their songs." A further example is Hor. *Odes* 4.9: Alcaeus appears in the company of a group of canonical male poets (and is characterized, though not elsewhere in Horace, only by his stasiotic poetry at line 7, "Alcaei minaces." In the third stanza Horace juxtaposes Anacreon and Sappho: "nec, si quid olim lusit Anacreon, | delevit aetas; spirat adhuc amor | vivuntque commissi calores | Aeoliae fidibus puellae," "and time has not destroyed what once Anacreon played; yet does love breathe and still do the warm breaths live, entrusted to the Aeolian girl's lyre." The close association of the two here is such that only at line 12 does it become clear that the figure evoked is now not Anacreon. The undying nature of poetry is something of a trope; nonetheless this stanza bears many resemblances to Posidippus, *Ep*. 17 GP (cited above in the introduction to this volume).

[19] See *FGE* 123–24.

[20] Nagy 1973: 141–48; Mace 1993: 340–41.

[21] On Anacreon's style, see Gentili 1958: xxii–xxiv.

[22] See below, chapter 5, section 5.3, "Theocritus and Simonides, Part 2."

[23] E.g., Callim. fr. 178.11–12 Pf. = 89 Massimilla.

[24] Ov. *Trist*. 2.363–65, "quid, nisi cum multo Venerem confundere vino, | praecepit lyrici Teia Musa senis: | Lesbia quid docuit Sappho, nisi amare, puellas?" "What else did the Tean Muse of the old lyric poet teach but to mix Love with much wine; what did Lesbian Sappho teach other than to love girls?" Vox 1991: 8.

[25] Fr. 2 *PMG* (18 lines extant; the first preserved line is the third in that stanza) is generally thought to consist of more than one poem; see Hutchinson 2001: 265, 269–71; Gentili 1958: 52–53.

attributed to him may well be genuine.[26] Word placement is very important in Anacreon's poetry (again, as in epigram). Anacreon's poetic dialect is at once literary and popular. His erotic interests are both homosexual and heterosexual. (Here Anacreon is not unlike Asclepiades or Meleager.) The figure of Eros in Anacreon's verse, while not the child of Hellenistic poetry, has features that contribute to that development. His poetry is further marked by a certain distanced irony of narrative voice that is markedly similar to some of the humor of Hellenistic erotic epigram. Fragment 78 G, Anacreon's address to a "Thracian filly," is, as Vox has shown, an excellent example.[27] Even his portrayals of his own drinking and of the effect of wine distinctly prefigure Hellenistic epigram.[28] Hermogenes compares the simplicity (ἀφελεία) of the figures in Anacreon to those in Theocritus's bucolics and Menander.[29] It is not surprising that several of the simple figures of Anacreon find parallels in later poetry.

Perceiving Anacreon as the early Alexandrians may have done is complicated, more so in some ways than perceiving the other lyric poets in this study. At least three of the developments of his later reception are at issue here.

First, some later epigrams on Anacreon lend a humorous but exaggerated portrayal of the symposiastic poet. This is especially true of the individual poets of the lyric canon, many of whom come to be given peculiar attributes in the epigrammatic tradition.[30] Already in the epigrammatic tradition we have the image of Anacreon as a drunken old man.[31] There are further the epigrams attributed, some correctly, to Anacreon.

Second, the *Anacreontea*, albeit now known not to be Anacreon's production, has long played a significant role in this poet's reception.[32] The date of the

[26] See Gutzwiller 1988a: 51–53; Page 1985: 133–34, 138–39.

[27] See Vox 1991: 67–68; also Giangrande 1968: 117.

[28] A classic take on Anacreon and drinking is Athen. 10.428e–429a, where Athenaeus claims that Anacreon's drunkenness was pretended and widely misunderstood.

[29] Hermog. *Περὶ ἰδεῶν* 2.3 (*Περὶ ἀφελείας*) p. 323 Rabe (= fr. 179 G), ὁρᾷς, ὅσον τὸ ἀφελὲς τῆς γνώμης· καὶ μὴν καὶ τὸ [Theocr. 1.1] καὶ τὰ πολλὰ τῶν βουκολικῶν, ἵνα μὴ τὰ πάντα λέγω, τοιαῦτά ἐστι. καὶ παρὰ τῷ Ἀνακρέοντι δὲ ὡσαύτως· παρά τε αὖ Μενάνδρῳ μυρία ἄν εὕροις τοιαῦτα καὶ γυναῖκας λεγούσας καῖ νεανίσκους ἐρῶντας καὶ μαγείρους καί τινας ἄλλους, "Do you observe such simplicity of thought? Theocr. 1.2. is an example, as is most of bucolic poetry, if not all. And so too with Anacreon. And in Menander you would find masses of examples, women as speakers, young men in love, cooks, and other examples." See further Gentili 1958: xvi.

[30] See P. Rosenmeyer 1992: 20–21; already, as Rosenmeyer (ibid. 33 n. 69) observes, in the fifth century Anacreon is evoked specifically in symposiastic contexts. (On Aristoph. *Thesm*. 161–63, see C. Austin and Olson 2006.)

[31] Vox 1991: 20–21. Among the Hellenistic epigrams that figure Anacreon as the aged inebriate are Leonid. Taren. 31 and 90 GP and Theocr. *Ep*. 15 GP. See on the last esp. Rossi 2001: 279–85. That early Hellenistic poets knew this tradition of epigrams on poets is of great interest when we consider, e.g., Callimachus's epigram on himself (30 GP = 35 Pf.). For the tradition of epigrams on Anacreon, see Barbantani 1993: 47–68.

[32] The subject of P. Rosenmeyer 1992. For today's readers discussion of Anacreon is almost inevitably framed in terms of discussion of what Anacreon is not: i.e., his later reception; discussion of

Anacreontea is not fixed. The *Anacreontea* certainly affected the popular later Western vision of Anacreon. The question here is in part, When did this begin?

Last here, Horace, as reader and imitator of Anacreon, has left a significant mark on the later appreciation of Anacreon. Horace in turn may have attributed the *Anacreontea* to Anacreon;[33] Horace's poetry shows reflections both of extant Anacreon and of the *Anacreontea*.[34]

An additional factor—one perhaps implicated with all the above, at least for our reading of Anacreon—is that papyrus finds have produced so little new Anacreon.[35] We do not know whether or not this is also the result of the early influence of the *Anacreontea* on his reception.[36]

For this study Anacreon is thus a figure at once intriguing and problematic. That Anacreon's voice is pervasive in extant Hellenistic poetry is fairly obvious. What, however, the Alexandrians had as Anacreon remains somewhat unclear.

This chapter is organized somewhat differently than those that have preceded. Although it follows a similar comparative reading of Anacreon in select Hellenistic poets, its organization is informed first by several Anacreontic poetic figures: these include images of Eros at play in Apollonius's *Argonautica* and in epigram, the gaze of the singer at a distanced object of desire—a prequel, as it were, of the *exclusus amator*—and symposiastic decorum. The concluding sections, on another court poet of Polycrates' Samos, Ibycus of Rhegium, touch on the presence of this poet in the scholia to Apollonius's *Argonautica* and several parallels of his very fragmentary surviving verse in Alexandrian poetry.

4.1. Eros at Play in Two Manifestations

Let us return first to Anacreon fragment 13 G (358 *PMG*):[37]

> Σφαίρῃ δηῦτέ με πορφυρέῃ
> βάλλων χρυσοκόμης Ἔρως

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an artist in terms of his later reception then informs the discussion of the artist himself, which follows.

[33] Nisbet and Hubbard 1970: 215.

[34] See P. Rosenmeyer 1992: 19 n. 25.

[35] Frr. 60–73 G (346–47 *PMG*). These include some of Anacreon's more vivid erotic imagery, and at least one image that may be recalled in Callimachus, as I discuss further below in this chapter.

[36] Cf. Gentili 1958: ix; Barbantani 1993: 47; Wilamowitz 1913: 110.

[37] The referent of line 8, τινά, is the subject of a long scholarly debate, much of which lies outside the area of this study. At issue (for the new reader of this poem) is whether this might be another girl (but this is not the usual early interpretation of Λέσβιος), another hair (or pubic hair: so Gentili 1973), or, perhaps, another ball. Χάσχει is a term taken from iambic poetry (cf. Hippon. fr. 9 W = 29 Deg.), which works for something of a shock effect in more elevated poetry. (Cf. Kurke 1994 on Alcaeus fr. 129.21, φύσκων, "fatty.") That said, the referent of τινά can still be another ball, as scenes with multiple balls might suggest. Cf. further Vox 1991: 55 n. 6, Gerber 1987–88: 423–24; Cyrino 1996: 380–82; Goldhill 1987: 16–17; Mace 1993: 348–49 n. 45; Yatromanolakis 2007: 174–77.

νήνι ποικιλοσαμβάλῳ
συμπαίζειν προκαλεῖται.

ἡ δ', ἐστὶν γὰρ ἀπ' εὐκτίτου
Λέσβου, τὴν μὲν ἐμὴν κόμην,
λευκὴ γάρ, καταμέμφεται,
πρὸς δ' ἄλλην τινὰ χάσκει.

Again casting with a purple ball golden-haired Love invites me to play together with a girl of many-colored sandal. She, however, for she is from well-founded Lesbos, faults my hair, for it is white, and gapes at another.

Eros at fragment 358 is still not quite the child figure found in Alexandrian literature, but many of the features are there: play and the language of play, hurling (here a ball; in later texts a variety of objects, some symposiastic, some military), compulsion couched in childlike imagery (note the oxymoronic aspect of συμπαίζειν προκαλεῖται).[38] Anacreon's Eros underlies a couple of later configurations. An especially vivid one is the infant of the opening of *Argonautica* 3, which evolves into the diabolical force that strikes Medea.

At *Argonautica* 3.947–55, in a passage redolent of both *Odyssey* 6 and of Sappho fragment 31, Medea awaits Jason's arrival among her maids at play. The scene is one of several in *Argonautica* 3 and 4 that recall Nausicaa's meeting with Odysseus in *Odyssey* 6. The Homeric original is dispersed, as it were, throughout Apollonius's "Odyssey" in a remarkable example of the use of an intertext that pervades a longer narrative. The recollection of the meeting of the two Homeric figures recurs like a leitmotif throughout Apollonius's later tale of a wandering hero and the local princess who aids him. In this scene of Medea and her maids Apollonius recalls Nausicaa at play with her own maids, the play that will eventually lead to Odysseus's awakening and the face-to-face meeting in *Odyssey* 6 of Nausicaa and Odysseus (*Arg*. 3.948–53):

Οὐδ' ἄρα Μηδείης θυμὸς τράπετ' ἄλλα νοῆσαι,
μελπομένης περ ὅμως. Πᾶσαι δέ οἱ, ἦν τιν' ἀθύροι
μολπὴν, οὐκ ἐπὶ δηρὸν ἐφήνδανεν ἐψιάασθαι,
ἀλλὰ μεταλλήγεσκεν ἀμήχανος· οὐδέ ποτ' ὄσσε
ἀμφιλπόλων μεθ' ὅμιλον ἔχ' ἀτρέμας, ἐς δὲ κελεύθους
τηλόσε παπταίνεσκε παρακλίνουσα παρειάς.
Ἦ θαμὰ δὴ στηθέων ἐάγη κέαρ, ὁππότε δοῦπον
ἢ ποδὸς ἢ ἀνέμοιο παραθρέξαντα δοάσσαι.

[38] Cf. Anacreon fr. 14.4 G, συμπαίζουσιν. Anacreon's purple ball combines the ball, object of play of Nausicaa and her maids in *Od*. 6.100, with the object of athletic dance performance at *Od*. 8.370–80, where the ball is, notably, purple (8.373). Anacreon's setting is of course of both sexes. On fr. 13.4, προκαλεῖται, cf. Alcaeus fr. 368 (from one of the few surviving erotic fragments), κάλεσαι; and further Vox 1991: 56.

> Medea's heart did not turn to think of other things, though she was playing. And all, whichever game she played, could not give her pleasure to enjoy for long, but, helpless, she changed from one to another. Nor could she keep her eyes calmly among the gathering of her serving maids, but inclining her cheeks aside she kept glancing far off at the road. Frequently the heart in her breast was shattered, whenever she doubted whether the sound she heard rushing by was that of a footfall or the wind.

There are several differences in the two passages characteristic of the later poet's rewriting. The ball of the *Odyssey* scene, the instrument that will lead to the union of the two principal figures, is noticeably absent. This, again, has appeared earlier in Book 3 of Apollonius's poem (as is typical of the displacement of elements of allusion in Hellenistic poetry): it is the ball (a child's toy, and one with its own epic biography) that Aphrodite promises to Eros in return for his subjection of Medea. The ball serves thus as both toy and erotic accoutrement.[39] To put it another way, as did M. Fusillo, the horror of *Argonautica* 3 and 4 is ultimately brought about by the promise of a child's toy.[40] Aphrodite at the opening of *Argonautica* 3 comes on Eros defeating Ganymede at dice. The defeat of Ganymede is doubly symbolic—of Eros's defeat of gods and men (i.e., of Zeus)[41] and of Eros's lack of scruple at play (in the defeat of Ganymede). Note, at 3.124, that καγχαλόωντι, of Eros on defeating Ganymede, parallels 3.286, καγχαλόων, of Eros on leaving the lovestruck Medea, in a recreation of Eros at play. Eros without becomes Eros transfigured into the *erōs* within Medea as the result of an arrow's strike (3.296–97). Note, too, 4.449, where what Eros has cast (ἔμβαλες) is great suffering. Worth noting here too is the prefiguring image of Anacreon fragment 111 G (398 *PMG*):[42] ἀστραγάλαι δ' Ἔρωτός εἰσιν | μανίαι τε καὶ κυδοιμοί, ("the dice of Love are madness and loud confusion"). Anacreon's image could not be more textually prefiguring, nor either thematically more prescient for the course of Medea's love for Jason.

[39] Apollonius characterizes Eros in this scene, in a manner indicative of his incorporation of lyric erotic imagery into a hexameter poem, in the tones of earlier erotic lyric. Thus Aphrodite comes upon Eros ruddy with the blush he causes in others (*Arg*. 3.121–22, γλυκερὸν δέ οἱ ἀμφὶ παρειὰς | χροιῆς θάλλεν ἔρευθος, "and a sweet redness bloomed on his skin about his cheeks") and chides him for deceiving Ganymede again at 129, αὖτως here recasting lyric δηὖτε. Further Eros casts his dice in his mother's "shining" (φαεινός) κόλπος at 154–55; Aphrodite's κόλπος, as noted elsewhere (above, chapter 2, section 2.1, "In the Lap of Arsinoe"), is an erotically overdetermined image, one that evokes much earlier erotic imagery.

[40] Fusillo 1985: 297–98; Hunter 1989: 112.

[41] A passage that is well worth comparing with this one is the juxtaposition of Ganymede and Eros in the second strophe and antistrophe (lines 819–59) of the second stasimon of Euripides' *Trojan Women*.

[42] On the plural μανίαι, see Cyrino 1996: 375–76.

4.2. And Again

Anacreon's poetry has obvious affinities with Hellenistic epigram:

1. A poet with international rather than local affiliations, Anacreon performed his poetry primarily for tyrants' courts of the sixth century.
2. The complete lyric poems of Anacreon that survive are often quite short, and metrically rather simple; word placement is very important (again, as in epigram). Cases in point are fragments 5 G (359 *PMG*) and 36 G (395 *PMG*).
3. Anacreon's poetic dialect is at once literary and popular; his erotic interests are both homosexual and heterosexual.[43] (In this sense Anacreon is not unlike Asclepiades or Meleager.)
4. A certain distanced irony of narrative voice is markedly similar to some of the humor of Hellenistic erotic epigram.[44] Among the surviving fragments of Anacreon are a few in elegiac couplets; a significant number of epigrams were attributed to Anacreon. (Some of these are clearly later.) Again, at issue is not so much the authenticity of these epigrams as the credibility of Anacreon as an epigrammatist in thinking of his influence on the genre.

There is a wealth of recall of Anacreon's poetry in epigram, particularly of some of the characteristic motifs of his lyric poetry. One of these is the figure of Eros at play (*PMG* frr. 357, 358, 398), which comes to have a long self-reflective tradition in Hellenistic poetry beginning with Asclepiades.[45] Indeed Asclepiades 15.4 GP can be read as a comment on this appropriation:

> οὐκ εἴμ' οὐδ' ἐτέων δύο κεἴκοσι, καὶ κοπιῶ ζῶν·
> ὤρωτες, τί κακὸν τοῦτο· τί με φλέγετε;
> ἦν γὰρ ἐγώ τι πάθω τί ποιήσετε; δῆλον, Ἔρωτες,
> ὡς τὸ πάρος παίξεσθ' ἄφρονες ἀστραγάλοις.
>
> I am not twenty-two, and I tire of living. Loves, what evil is this? Why do you burn me? For what will you do if I suffer anything? It's clear, Loves, that as before you will heedlessly play with dice.

Ὡς τὸ πάρος here can be understood simultaneously in two ways: "You, Loves, as before will heedlessly play with dice," with the reference to the speaker's love life; and metatextually, with τὸ πάρος both recalling the Anacreontic occasion (fr. 111 G, ἀστραγάλαι δ' Ἔρωτός εἰσιν | μανίαι τε καὶ κυδοιμοί, "Love's dice are madness and uproar") and also recalling, by variation, in Asclepiades' ὡς τὸ

[43] For the gender of Anacreon's audience, see Vox 1990: 93–97.
[44] On irony in Anacreon, see Vox 1990: 22–23.
[45] See esp. Pretagostini 1990.

πάρος Anacreon's signal δηὖτε.[46] That we see strong echoes of Anacreon in Asclepiades points to the early evolution of erotic epigram from short lyric models.

Meleager 53 GP is another, more elaborate recollection of the same fragment:

σφαιριστὰν τὸν Ἔρωτα τρέφω· σοὶ δ', Ἡλιοδώρα,
βάλλει τὰν ἐν ἐμοὶ παλλομέναν κραδίαν.
ἀλλ' ἄγε συμπαίκταν δέξαι Πόθον· εἰ δ' ἀπὸ σεῦ με
ῥίψαις, οὐκ οἴσει τὰν ἀπάλαιστρον ὕβριν.

The Love I raise is a ballplayer. To you, Heliodora, he throws my quivering heart. Come, take Desire as your playmate; for if you cast me from you, he will not allow violation of the game's rules.

As Pretagostini's careful analysis of this poem shows,[47] Meleager has at once kept and transformed the ball, game, and play imagery as well as even something of the final pointe of Anacreon's poem. The god is now the poet's internal feeling; the ball has now evolved into the image of this internal desire. Apollonius does something very similar at *Argonautica* 3.296–97, where Eros the violent god becomes *erōs* the violent internal emotion. The object hurled here is now the poet's heart; he urges his love to take Desire as her playmate (thus in συμπαίκταν keeping the συμπαίζειν of Anacreon's poem). The poet is the object possibly tossed away (as the girl of Anacreon's model looks away to another), and this final act is—well . . . poor sportsmanship.

Dioscorides' treatment of Anacreon parallels his treatment of Sappho;[48] an epigram that celebrates Anacreon the poet (19 GP), and recalls individual poems, is complemented by frequent allusion to Anacreon in other epigrams:

Σμερδίῃ ὦ ἐπὶ Θρῃκὶ τακεὶς καὶ ἐπ' ἔσχατον ὀστεῦν,
κώμου καὶ πάσης κοίρανε παννυχίδος,
τερπνότατ' ὦ Μούσῃσιν Ἀνάκρεον, ὦ 'πὶ Βαθύλλῳ
χλωρὸν ὑπὲρ κυλίκων πολλάκι δάκρυ χέας,
αὐτόματαί τοι κρῆναι ἀναβλύζοιεν ἀκρήτου
κὴκ μακάρων προχοαὶ νέκταρος ἀμβροσίου,
αὐτόματοι δὲ φέροιεν ἴον τὸ φιλέσπερον ἄνθος
κῆποι, καὶ μαλακῇ μύρτα τρέφοιτο δρόσῳ,
ὄφρα καὶ ἐν Δηοῦς οἰνωμένος ἁβρὰ χορεύσῃς
βεβληκὼς χρυσέην χεῖρας ἐπ' Εὐρυπύλην.

Melted for Thracian Smerdis even to the core of your bones, king of the *kōmos* and every midnight revel, the Muses' darling, Anacreon, you who for

[46] See also 4.1 GP (= *AP* 5.158), συνέπαιζον; 17 GP (= *AP* 12.166) heightens several features of Anacreon's poem; a similar anaphora at Theocr. 7.118–19 of βάλλετε, also with the Erotes as subject, evokes the same fragment of Anacreon. On δηὖτε in Anacreon, see Mace 1993 passim.

[47] Pretagostini 1990: 231–32.

[48] Text and translation above in the introduction to this volume.

> Bathyllus often shed a fresh tear over your cups, of their own accord may springs of unmixed wine gush forth for you, and of their own accord may the gardens bear the violet, flower dear to evening, and may myrtle be nourished by the soft damp, that even in Deo's house, drunk with wine, you may dance gently, casting your hands at golden Eurypyle.

Dioscorides' poem also marks Anacreon's bisexual erotic gaze, one feature that Anacreon shares with a number of epigrammatists. Dioscorides' poem on Anacreon alludes to several of the poems, and types of poems, for which Anacreon was renowned as a poet of the symposium: erotic poems for boys, drinking poems for public and private reveling. "Golden Eurypyle" in the last line of Dioscorides' epigram finds a parallel at fragment 8 G (a citation from Chamaeleon, *Περὶ Ἀνακρέοντος*, preserved by Athenaeus 10.12.533e, ξανθῇ δ' Εὐρυπύλῃ μέλει). Bathyllus, the second figure of Dioscorides' poem, frequently stands out among Anacreon's loves, as for example in Horace, *Epodes* 14.9, "non aliter Samio dicunt arsisse Bathyllo | Anacreonta Teium, qui persaepe cava testudine flevit amorem | non elaboratum ad pedem" ("in the same way they say Tean Anacreon was afire for Samian Bathyllus, Anacreon who often with hollow lyre wept for his love in simple meters"). The coincidence of Dioscorides' epigram and Horace's text might suggest that Anacreon is the model that lies behind Horace's "rara lacrima" of *Odes* 4.1.34, where the single tear parallels the single tear in the fourth line of Dioscorides' epigram on Anacreon.[49]

Meleager 20 GP is an example of the *variatio in imitatione* that Anacreon effects in later epigram. The poem's opening lines recall both Anacreon's celebration of wine and particularly his image of the charioteer of the soul (Anacreon fr. 15 G = *PMG* 360):[50]

> Ὦ παῖ παρθένιον βλέπων
> δίζημαί σε, σὺ δ' οὐ κλύεις
> οὐκ εἰδὼς ὅτι τῆς ἐμῆς
> ψυχῆς ἡνιοχεύεις.

Boy with a girl's glance, I beg you, but you don't listen. Without knowing it you are the charioteer of my soul.

> οἵσω ναὶ μὰ σέ, Βάκχε, τὸ σὸν θράσος· ἀγέο κώμων,
> ἄρχε, θεὸς θνατὰν ἀνιόχει κραδίαν.
> ἐν πυρὶ γενναθεὶς στέργεις φλόγα τὰν ἐν Ἔρωτι,
> καί με πάλιν δήσας τὸν σὸν ἄγεις ἱκέταν.

[49] Hor. *Odes* 4.1.33–34: "sed cur heu, Ligurine, cur | manat rara meas lacrima per genas?" "But why, Ligurinus, why does a single tear wet my cheeks?" In this complex poem of Greek and Roman lyric imagery it would not be surprising that Horace would evoke Anacreon, just as he obviously evokes Sappho.

[50] On this image, see Goldhill 1987: 11.

ἦ προδότας κἄπιστος ἔφυς, τεὰ δ' ὄργια κρύπτειν
αὐδῶν, ἐκφαίνειν τἀμὰ σὺ νῦν ἐθέλεις.

(Meleager 20 GP)

By you, Bacchus, I swear, I will bear your rashness; lead me in revelry, a god, be the charioteer of a mortal heart. Born in fire, you love the flame, and lead me a suppliant in bonds. Truly you're a faithless traitor, daring to hide your own arts, but willing now to reveal mine.

Here Bacchus is the soul's reinsman.[51] Meleager's epigram has a palimpsest character in that it at once recalls both the Anacreontic image and the role of that image in Plato's *Phaedrus*.

4.3. Gaze of an Excluded Lover

The komast of Theocritus *Idyll* 3 sings through a door of ivy. The door of the water's edge restrains Polyphemus in *Idylls*. 6 and 11. The humor of Theocritus's rustic *paraklausithyra* lies in part in the paradox of the urban feature recreated in a nonurban setting—refined poetry in the mouths of rustic bumpkins. Both these bucolic singers depend on a long tradition of komastic song.[52] There is, however, another type of model worth taking into account here, the short song that views a distant object of desire, urges its attention or explains its lack of attention, and creates a scenario, indeed almost an implied dialogue, with multiple perspectives.[53] Anacreon is a master at representing this type of internal discourse. Several of his extant poetic fragments evoke types of thought pattern similar to those we see in Theocritus's rustic komasts. Compare fragment 78 G (*PMG* 417) against Theocritus's unlucky singers (I follow Page's colometry):[54]

πῶλε Θρῃκίη, τί δή με
λοξὸν ὄμμασι βλέπουσα

[51] The apposition of Dionysus and Eros in line 3, ἐν πυρὶ γενναθεὶς στέργεις φλόγα τὰν ἐν Ἔρωτι, might distantly echo the last line of *PMG* 357, τὸν ἐμόν γ' ἔρω- | τ', ὦ Δεόνυσε, δέχεσθαι. The first image of this poem, ὦ παῖ παρθένιον βλέπων, is one image that lies behind Horace's Cnidian Gyges (*Odes* 2.5.20–24, "Cnidiusve Gyges, | quem si puellarum inseres choro, | mire sagaces falleret hospites | discrimen obscurum solutis | crinibus amiguoque vultu," "or Cnidian Gyges, whom were you to put him in a chorus of girls, wonderfully would deceive clever guests the mysterious ambiguity with his hair loosened and his androgynous face."

[52] Hunter 1999: 107–9; Theocr. *Id*. 2.118–28 delineates some of the features of standard urban *kōmos*, which, as Burton (1995: 65–66) has shown, Simaitha in *Id*. 2 mirrors in some of her own actions.

[53] In this regard Anacreon in a sense prefigures some of the character of Hellenistic epigram, even when we assume that Anacreon's poetry is intended for performance. On the appearance of internal dialogue in Archaic lyric in this regard, see Walsh 1991: 5–7.

[54] Gentili in his edition has this poem as three distichs. Again, as is the case with Sappho, it may be quite significant that a Roman reader (as opposed to auditor) of Greek lyric would have encountered so much of it in distich form.

νηλέως φεύγεις, δοκεῖς δέ
μ᾽ οὐδὲν εἰδέναι σοφόν;
ἴσθι τοι, καλῶς μὲν ἄν τοι
τὸν χαλινὸν ἐμβάλοιμι,
ἡνίας δ᾽ ἔχων στρέφοιμί
σ᾽ ἀμφὶ τέρματα δρόμου·
νῦν δὲ λειμῶνάς τε βόσκεαι
κοῦφά τε σκιρτῶσα παίζεις,
δεξιὸν γὰρ ἱπποπείρην
οὐχ ἔχεις ἐμεμβάτην.

Thracian filly, why casting a glance aslant with your eyes do you pitilessly avoid me, and assume that I've no skill? Know you, well could I cast a bridle upon you, and with the reins I could turn you about the ends of the race. But now in the fields you graze and lightly frolicking you play, and have no able horseman with experience as your rider.

The poem is itself a sustained metaphor. The singer transfers a series of sexual images involving an older man's desire for a young girl to the imaging of a riderless horse.[55] Standard equestrian imagery used of (for example) *hetairai* suggests that this poem is rather less original in this respect than it may at first appear to the modern reader. Still the sustained image is striking.[56] Especially effective here is the metaphor's ability to bring about a sense of distance between viewer and viewed and to allow the creation of an imagined dialogue between them. The girl (or filly) is aware of the singer's presence, has assessed his qualifications (an assessment he contests), prefers to frolic elsewhere, and has no understanding of the benefits the singer can confer. A comparative reading with Theocritus's rustic *paraklausithyra* is revealing. Both the singer of *Idyll* 3 and Polyphemus (explicitly at *Id.* 6.21–22) have evasive eye contact with the object of desire.[57] Both detail their assumed reasons for their respective rejections, more detailed in the case of Polyphemus. Each gives voice to a beloved otherwise absent in the poem. And each, the singer of *Idyll* 3 and Polyphemus (again at greater length in *Id.* 11), details the benefits that his love can confer upon the object of his song. Note the fields of lines 9–10 of Anacreon's poem, where the Thracian filly frolics, fields that are apparently inaccessible to the poet, whose venue is rather the race course. The metaphor of the rider looking

[55] On the background to this metaphor, see esp. P. Rosenmeyer 2004: 170–71.

[56] Cf., e.g., Asclepiades 6 GP, Posidippus 24 GP (assigned to Asclepiades by Gow in Gow and Page 1965). The latter is sometimes assigned to Posidippus (e.g., in the edition of Austin and Bastianini); this seems rather more likely in light of the section of *P.Mil.Vogl.* VIII 309 dedicated to horse racing that includes the figure of at least one *hetaira*.

[57] *Arg.* 3.444–45, ἐπ᾽ αὐτῷ δ᾽ ὄμματα κούρη | λοξὰ παρὰ λιπαρὴν σχομένη θηεῖτο καλύπτρη may in part be recalling this image in Anacreon. The same image is used quite often of outrage, as at [Theocr.] 20.13, καὶ ὄμμαοι λοξὰ βλέπουσα.

at the horse in nature rather than in a cultured setting (here the race course) again prefigures the setup of the rustic *paraklausithyron*, where (for example) Galatea's leaving the sea and taking up pastoral pursuits (*Id*. 11.63–66) would represent a transition from nature to culture (Theocritus's rather tongue-in-cheek take on Homer's *anomos* Polyphemus).

This is not to say that Anacreon 78 G (*PMG* 417) is, or exactly prefigures, a *paraklausithyron*. Again, part of the appeal of Theocritus's bucolic serenades is their country setting. This is effective only if an explicitly urban model can be seen behind the rustic imitation. The settings evoked in a number of Anacreon's poems, including this one, are rather harder to gauge. Recognizable in Anacreon's song is a parallel structure: address to the distanced object of desire, imagined discourse, imagined transition to a state of union rather than separation, and a physical impediment to that union.[58] In that sense the λειμῶνες of Anacreon do prefigure Theocritus's rustic doors. The *locus amoenus* of the girl's frolicking is perceived by the male viewer but is also, as yet, an area from which his gaze is but far off.[59]

Another of Anacreon's poems, 13 G (*PMG* 358), which I've considered already earlier in this chapter from the perspective of its context in Athenaeus, also probably complete, and one I treated in regard to the imagery of Eros at play, serves in its double perception as a parallel to the double perception of the songs of *Idyll* 6:

Σφαίρηι δηῦτέ με πορφυρέῃ
βάλλων χρυσοκόμης Ἔρως
νήνι ποικιλοσαμβάλῳ
συμπαίζειν προκαλεῖται·

ἡ δ', ἐστὶν γὰρ ἀπ' εὐκτίτου
Λέσβου, τὴν μὲν ἐμὴν κόμην,
λευκὴ γάρ, καταμέμφεται,
πρὸς δ ἄλλην τινὰ χάσκει.

Again casting with a purple ball golden-harred Love invites me to play together with a girl of many-colored sandal. She, however, for she is from well-founded Lesbas, faults my hair, for it is white, and gapes at another.

The singer of this short song sets up a series of juxtapositions: youth versus age, dark versus light, god versus mortal, invitation or challenge versus rejection[60]

[58] The poem seems complete as preserved. The comment of Heraclitus, *Quaest. Hom.* 5, seems in some ways a rather odd reading of the poem. See P. Rosenmeyer 2004: 171; Hutchinson 2001: 278.

[59] See P. Rosenmeyer (2004: 172), who sees a contrast of female and male perceptions of the same locus: "In *PMG* 417, from the perspective of the young girl (assuming she is not a *hetaira*), it is a *locus* of innocent play; for the voyeuristic male narrator, it is a space to be filled up by his 'skill,' a wildness to be turned into pursuit and conquest; therefore, I would argue for the existence of a gendered perspective on this *locus amoenus*."

[60] On χάσκει as a metaphor for fellatio, see Gentili 1988: 96; Hutchinson (2001: 276–77) takes χάσκει rather as admiration in contrast with καταμέμφεται.

There is also a dual perception of Eros and the singer's erotic condition. In the poem's first part, this perception is one of (apparently) youthful *habrosynē*. In the second, the singer is perceived as colorless (or old) and an object of scorn. This dual perception is heightened by the response to each feature of the first period in the second and, in particular, by the shift of agent in line 5. Here the girl, the object of erotic gaze in the first four lines, becomes in turn the one who views, scorns, and subsequently gapes elsewhere.

Such a reading of Anacreon 13 G takes on a different character when read against the bucolic *agōn* of *Idyll* 6. I should underline at the outset that in this case we are not necessarily dealing with a specific poetic model as such, although Theocritus clearly does recall Anacreon elsewhere. A later bucolic poem, Pseudo-Moschus 3 (*The Epitaph for Bion*), lines 86–92, is an explicit comment on the debt of bucolic poetry to lyric, including Anacreon (line 90), οὐδὲ τόσον τὸν ἀοιδὸν ὀδύρατο Τήιον ἄστυ ("not so much did the Tean city lament its singer"). There are also other moments of lyric recall in both songs of *Idyll* 6; for example, line 17, καὶ φεύγει φιλέοντα καὶ οὐ φιλέοντα διώκει ("and she flees him who loves her and does not pursue him") plays on Sappho fragment 1.21–24, καὶ γὰρ αἰ φεύγει, ταχέως διώξει· | αἰ δὲ δῶρα μὴ δέκετ', ἀλλὰ δώσει· | αἰ δὲ μὴ φίλει, ταχέως φιλήσει | κωὐκ ἐθέλοισα ("for if she flees, soon she will purse; if she accepts not gifts, she will give them; and if she loves not, soon will she love, even unwillingly").

In the case of Anacreon fragment 13 G and Theocritus *Idyll* 6 the structural patterning of the two works suggests rather a shared tradition. In *Idyll* 6 Daphnis observes that Galatea casts apples at Polyphemus and challenges him. Together with Daphnis the audience of his song perceives Polyphemus piping on the shore. Also with Daphnis the audience sees the scene around Polyphemus. Daphnis's closing comment to Polyphemus is that Galatea flirts with him. Damoetas responds, not as himself but in the character of Polyphemus, by observing the same scene *in propria persona*. The figure viewed in the first song becomes the figure viewing in the second. The components of the first song are reconfigured in the second—each concludes with a didactic touch. Daphnis invokes, apparently, Plato's *Symposium*; Damoetas as Polyphemus invokes folk wisdom, with the marvelous (apparent) ending (line 40), ἐξεδίδαξε, "taught."

The same poem of Anacreon's comes into play in a different, and in this case nonbucolic, context in Theocritus, the small self-contained prayer to the Erotes that comes at the transition of Simichidas's song in *Idyll* 7.115–19 from rustic imagery (Arcadian Pan) to that of urban *paraklausithyron*:

> ὔμμες δ' Ὑετίδος καὶ Βυβλίδος ἁδὺ λιπόντες
> νᾶμα καὶ Οἰκοῦντα, ξανθᾶς ἕδος αἰπὺ Διώνας,
> ὦ μάλοισιν Ἔρτωες ἐρευθομένοιοιν ὁμοῖοι,
> βάλλετέ μοι τόξοισι τὸν ἱμερόεντα Φιλῖνον,
> βάλλετ, ἐπεὶ τὸν ξεῖνον ὁ δύσμορος οὐκ ἐλεεῖ μευ.

> And you, leave the sweet stream of Hyetis and Byblis, and Oecus, the sheer seat of shining Dione, O Loves like blushing apples; for me strike lovely Philinus with your bows: strike him, since the wretch takes no pity on my friend.

Both the confluent imagery of Eros attacking and Eros at play and the vivid imagery of the youthful face find compelling parallels in Anacreon, as does the short prayer to Eros. For the first, compare the opening lines of Anacreon fragment 13 G (*PMG* 358), σφαιρῃ δηὖτέ με πορφυρέῃ | βάλλων χρυσοκόμης Ἔρως | νήνι ποικιλοσαμβάλῳ | συμπαίζειν προκαλεῖται, and fragment 14 G (357 *PMG*), lines 1–5, ὤναξ [*sc*. Dionysus], ᾧ δαμάλης Ἔρως | καὶ Νύμφαι κυανώπιδες | πορφυρέη τ' Ἀφροδίτη | συμπαίζουσιν, ἐπιστρέφεαι δ' | ὑψηλὰς ὀρέων κορυφάς "Lord, with whom subduing Eros and the dark-faced Nymphs and purple Aphrodite play, you wander among the high mountain peaks"). For the second, compare for example, fragment 15 G (360 *PMG*), lines 1–2, ὦ παῖ παρθένιον βλέπων, | δίζημαί σε ("boy with virginal glance, I desire you").

4.3.1. Postlude: A Dynast, a Poet, Severed Locks, and Lament

One of the few papyrus fragments attributed to Anacreon (*P.Oxy.* 2322 fr. 1.1–10 = fr. 71 G) is a lament for a boy's shorn hair. The attribution to Anacreon rests in part on knowledge of this episode from other sources, including Stobaeus, *Περὶ κάλλους* 4.21.24 (p. 491 Hense), who is the source of Anacreon fragment 26 G (414 *PMG*), ἀπέκειρας δ' ἁπαλῆς κόμης ἄμωμον ἄνθος ("you have cut off the blameless flower of soft hair"), Athenaeus 12.540e, and Aelian, *Varia Historia* 9.4 (p. 96 Herch.). The episode seems to have been fairly well known and indeed to have become one of the hallmarks of Anacreon, as Antipater of Sidon 15 GP, in a catalogue of Anacreon's poetic figures, suggests:[61]

> εἴης ἐν μακάρεσσιν, Ἀνάκρεον, εὖχος Ἰώνων,
> μήτ' ἐρατῶν κώμων ἄνδιχα μήτε λύρης·
> ὑγρὰ δὲ δερκομένοισιν ἐν ὄμμασιν οὖλον ἀείδοις
> αἰθύσσων λιπαρῆς ἄνθος ὕπερθε κόμης,
> ἠὲ πρὸς Εὐρυπύλην τετραμμένος ἠὲ Μεγιστῆν
> ἢ Κίκονα Θρῃκὸς Σμερδίεω πλόκαμον,
> ἡδὺ μέθυ βλύζων, ἀμφίβροχος εἵματα Βάκχῳ,
> ἄκρητον θλίβων νέκταρ ἀπὸ στολίδων·
> τρισσοῖς γάρ, Μούσαισι Διονύσῳ καὶ Ἔρωτι,
> πρέσβυ, κατεσπείσθη πᾶς ὁ τεὸς βίοτος.
>
> Among the departed may you be, Anacreon, pride of Ionia, neither without your beloved revels nor without your lyre. May you sing clearly with moist glancing eyes, shaking the flower above your shining hair, whether turned

[61] On the translation of several unusual terms in this epigram, see Gow and Page 1965: II 44–45. On the ancient recollections of this episode, see Lambin 2002: 120–22.

toward Eurypyle, or Megistes, or the Ciconian lock of Thracian Smerdis, spouting sweet wine, your clothes wet with Bacchus, wringing pure nectar from the folds. For to these three, the Muses, Dionysus, and Eros, your whole life, old man, was devoted.

The Anacreon fragment begins in midstanza. B. Gentili gives this (fr. 71) as a ten-line fragment, not associated with the poem following (lines 11–19 of the same papyrus fragment); Page, however, considers both to be part of the same poem (fr. 347 *PMG*).[62] Here I follow Gentili (1958: 52):[63]

καὶ κ[όμη]ς, ἥ τοι κατ᾽ ἀβρόν
ἐσκία[ζ]εν αὐχένα.
——
νῦν δ̣ὲ δ̣ὴ σὺ μὲν στολοκρός,
ἡ δ᾽ ἐς αὐχμηρὰς πεσοῦσα
χεῖρας ἀθρόη μέλαιναν
ἐς κόνιν κατερρύη
——
τλημόν[ω]ς τομῆ σιδήρου
περιπεσο[ῦ]σ᾽. ἐγὼ δ᾽ ἄσῃσι
τείρομαι· τί γάρ τις ἔρξῃ
μηδ᾽ ὑπὲρ Θ̣ρ̣ήκης τυχών;
——

And your hair, which once shadowed over your soft neck. But now you are shorn, and your hair is fallen altogether to rough hands, poured miserably to the black dust on encountering the iron blade. I am torn apart with grief, for what may one do if not succeeding for Thrace?

A number of parallels suggest themselves in the context of Callimachus fragment 110 (*The Lock of Berenice*). Though these are not firm, there is a high probability that Anacreon's poem is one of the Greek models that figure in this court poem, one that derives from a long Egyptian tradition of celebrating catasterism, but which at the same time Callimachus composes to appeal to a cultured Hellenic audience. Both poems lament the severing of hair; both give a mock-tragic cast to iron; both include a pathetic rhetorical question.[64] There are some additional circumstantial features that the two share: some Sapphic vocabulary (note here line 8, ἄσῃσι), a quality of the mock-heroic, and the topographical background. (Arsinoe was first married to the Thracian king Lysander; her

[62] As does Rozokoke 2006; see her commentary notes 162–63. Lambin (2002: 122–23) follows Gentili.

[63] Text and translation of line 10 are uncertain; the papyrus has .ρη[ι]κης. Θρ̣ήκης is Lobel's conjecture; but the line is at best odd.

[64] Cf. Callim. fr. 110.47–48, τί πλόκαμοι ῥέξωμεν, ὅτ᾽ οὔρεα τοῖα σιδή[ρῳ | εἴκουσιν; "What are we locks to do, when such mountains yield to iron?"

monuments stood at Samothrace and apparently at Athos, the βουπόρος Ἀρσινόης of fragment 110.45.) Both poems serve as covers for the potential anger of the powerful.[65] This may also be true of the cutting of hair as a symbol of transition from youth to adulthood. Further, there is a triad of figures in both poems (Polycrates, Smerdis, Anacreon in the one; Ptolemy III, Berenice II, and the lock in the other), with the third figure of the triad, and in each case the grieving voice, being that of the poem's speaker.

4.3.2. Sphragis: *The Poet on Himself*

ἐμὲ γὰρ λόγων (◡ –) εἵνεκα παῖδες ἄν φιλέοιεν·
χαρίεντα μέν γ' ἀείδω, χαρίεντα δ' οἶδα λέξαι.
(Anacreon fr. 22 G = 402 *PMG*)

For boys might love me for my words; for I sing graceful things, and know how to speak graceful things too.

Βαττιάδεω παρὰ σῆμα φέρεις πόδας, εὖ μὲν ἀοιδήν
εἰδότος, εὖ δ' οἴνῳ καίρια συγγελάσαι.
(Callim. *Ep*. 30 GP = 35 Pf.)

You walk by the tomb of Battiades, one who knew his song well, and how opportunely to join in the laughter at wine.

The first of the above citations comes from Maximus of Tyre's disquisition on Anacreon's moderation (σωφροσύνη, Max. Tyr. 18.0 [p. 232–33 Hobein]);[66] the second, from Callimachus's semiserious self-epitaph, one of a pair (with 29 GP = 21 Pf.) of autobiographical epigrams. Aside from a parallel mock irony, the two statements share an emphasis on poetic knowledge and a contrast of song and speech.[67] Both also figure the singer, even if not entirely seriously, through the eyes of others.

4.4. The Alexandrian Edition of Anacreon

The story of the Alexandrian edition of Anacreon shares a number of features with that of the Alexandrian edition of Sappho, and also some with that of Alcaeus. References to Anacreon's poetry in the fifth century include a fragment

[65] In the case of Callimachus's poem, this is the original royal displeasure at the disappearance of her votive gift. (This remains in the version of Hygin. *Astr*. 2.24, "quod factum cum rex aegre ferret"). In the case of Anacreon, this is Polycrates' wrath at Anacreon's affection for Smerdis. See Athen. 12.540e; Aelian, *Var. Hist.* 9.4 (p. 96 Herch.).

[66] On the language of this fragment see Vox 1990: 27–40 passim.

[67] Callimachus often uses expressions of knowledge and self-knowledge. See Acosta-Hughes 2002: 238–39; Gutzwiller 1998a: 215–17.

from Aristophanes' lost play *Daitalēs* (fr. 235 KA), ᾄσον δή μοι σκόλιόν τι λαβὼν Ἀλκαίου κἀνακρέοντος ("sing me a *skolion*, taking something from Alcaeus or Anacreon") and a passage from his *Thesmophoriazusae* (lines 160–63) that is itself an intriguing example of early canon formation:[68]

σκέψαι δ' ὅτι
Ἴβυκος ἐκεῖνος κἀνακρέων ὁ Τήιος
καὶ καῖος, οἵπερ ἁρμονίαν ἐχύμισαν,
ἐμιτροφόρουν τε κἀχλίδων Ἰωνικῶς.

Consider that renowned Ibycus, and Tean Anacreon, and Alcaeus, who made harmony flavorful, wore the *mitra*, and lived softly in the Ionian manner.

The Athenaeus text (15.693f) that preserves Aristophanes fragment 235 KA suggests that these *skolia* were conceived of as a group or collection. A hexameter fragment of the late fifth-century sophist Critias (D-K 88, fr. 1.1–4), who appears to have been very fond of Anacreon,[69] similarly suggests conception of a collection, here perhaps of *partheneia*:[70]

τὸν δὲ γυναικείων μελέων πλέξαντά ποτ' ᾠδάς
ἡδὺν Ἀνακρείοντα Τέως εἰς Ἑλλάδ' ἀνῆγεν
συμποσίων ἐρέθισμα, γυναικῶν ἠπερόπευμα
αὐλῶν ἀντίπαλον, φιλοβάρβιτον, ἡδύν, ἄλυπον.

whom strumming once the tunes of ladies' songs, sweet Anacreon of Teos led to Greece, inciter of drinking parties, lure of women, strumming in response to the *auloi*, lover of the lyre, sweet, carefree . . .

[68] See Austin and Olson 2004: 110–11. Another passage that is very intriguing in this regard is the scholion to the opening line of Pindar's *Isthmian* 2 (a passage much imitated in Hellenistic poetry, and, importantly, one that might be considered as prefiguring what is broadly conceived as a later poetic). The scholiast (III 213 Drachmann) notes, in identifying the figures of the poem's opening (οἱ μὲν πάλαι, ὦ Θρασύβουλε, | φῶτες . . . ῥίμφα παιδείους ἐτόξευον μελιγάρυας ὕμνους, "men of old, Thrasybulus . . . easily shot their honey-voiced hymns at boys"), ταῦτα δὲ τείνει καὶ τοὺς περὶ Ἀλκαῖον καὶ Ἴβυκον καὶ Ἀνακρέοντα καὶ εἴ τινες τῶν πρὸ αὐτου δοκοῦσι περὶ τὰ παιδικὰ ἠσχολῆσθαι· οὗτοι γὰρ παλαιότεροι Πινδάρου· Ἀνακρέοντα γοῦν ἐρωτηθέντα, φασί, διατί οὐκ εἰς θεοὺς ἀλλ' εἰς παῖδας γράφεις τοὺς ὕμνους· εἰπεῖν, ὅτι οὗτοι ἡμῶν θεοί εἰσιν, "This is in reference to Alcaeus, Ibycus, Anacreon, and any others before him who seem to have given their attention to their boy favorites; for these are older than Pindar. And they say that Anacreon, asked "Why do you compose hymns not to gods but to boys?" said, "Because these are my gods." On the use of περί in this scholion, see Dickey 2007: 119.

[69] See further Pfeiffer 1968: 54–55.

[70] Cf. Luc. *Ver. Hist*. 2.153, ἐπὶ τῷ δείπνῳ μουσικῇ τε καὶ ᾠδαῖς σχολάζουσιν . . . οἱ μὲν οὖν χοροὶ ἐκ παίδων εἰσὶ καὶ παρθένων· ἐξάρχουσι δὲ καὶ συνᾴδουσιν Εὔνομός τε ὁ Λοκρὸς καὶ Ἀρίων ὁ Λέσβιος καὶ Ἀνακρέων καὶ Στησίχορος, "at dinner they relax with music and songs . . . there are choruses of boys and girls. They strike up and sing Locrian Eunomus and Lesbian Arion, Anacreon, and Stesichorus." A papyrus fragment (*P.Oxy.* 221, col. VII, 5–12) of scholia to *Il.* 21.162–63 has as its heading the ascription κ̣α̣ι̣ . α̣[.]α̣ναχ̣[| ἐν Παρθενείοις, which some scholars have read as κ̣α̣ὶ. π̣α̣[ρ'] Ἀνακ[ρέοντι | ἐν̣ Παρθενείοις. Much about both text and ascription remains unclear.

Neither of these testimonia necessarily requires a book of verse, but both certainly attest concepts of collection that were to be very important for Anacreon's reception.

The fourth-century-BCE Peripatetic Chamaeleon wrote a work entitled *Περὶ Ἀνακρέοντος*. Like his *Περὶ Σάπφους*,[71] this appears to have been a combination of verse citation and biographical anecdote. Heraclides Ponticus seems also to have taken an interest in Anacreon. Plutarch (*Pericl.* 27) notes that Heraclides used Anacreon's poetry to demonstrate the definition of the phrase περιφόρητος Ἀρτέμων (cf. fr. 8 G = 372 *PMG*).[72] Anacreon was thus already the object both of characterization and study prior to the Alexandrian period. And in Alexandria there is evidence of scholarly work on the text of Anacreon as early as Zenodotus, tutor to Ptolemy II Philadelphus, who was crowned coregent with his father in 285 BCE.[73]

Hephaestion, *On Poems* 4.8 (p. 68 Consbr.), uses the phrase κατὰ γὰρ τὴν νῦν ἔκδοσιν of Aristarchus's edition of Anacreon. The phrase implies that there was a previous edition, in which case it is very likely to have been that of Aristophanes of Byzantium. Hephaestion, *On Signs* 2–3, narrates the change in the use of the *asteriskos* from marking change in meter to marking change in poem in the lyric poets, especially the text of the three lyric poets Sappho, Anacreon, and Alcaeus.[74] The editions specified here are those of Alcaeus, but it is very likely that Hephaestion implies earlier and later editions of all three poets.[75]

Anacreon's poems, like Sappho's, were organized metrically. Two papyrus finds of Anacreon (*P.Oxy.* 2321, 2322) confirm this. One of these (*P.Oxy.* 2322 = frr. 71–73 G = 347 *PMG*) has a sequence of trochaic stanzas; the other (*P.Oxy.* 2321 = frr. 60–70 G = 346 *PMG*), a variety of choriambic meters. More problematic is the number of books that comprised Anacreon's lyric poetry. There are specific references to three[76]—and we should keep in mind that even three books (as Lambin 2002: 53) could result in a considerable amount of Anacreon.[77]

[71] For Chamaeleon on the lyric poets, see Pfeiffer 1968: 181, 221–22.

[72] See Brown 1983: 5.

[73] The scholiast to Pind. *Ol.* 3.52, χρυσοκέρων ἔλαφον, "golden-horned deer," notes that Zenodotus replaced κεροέσσης, "horned," of the mother deer in Anacreon fr. 28 G (408 *PMG*) with ἐροέσσης, "lovely," on the ground that a doe has no horns. The source that preserves this fragment, Aelian, *Nat. An.* 7.39, observes that Aristophanes of Byzantium takes to task those who here have "corrupted the text" (τοὺς μοιχῶντας τὸ λεχθὲν). Aristophanes certainly may have produced an edition of Anacreon, but it is not necessarily the case that Zenodotus had already done so; though see Pfeiffer 1968: 117–19, 181.

[74] Pp. 73–74 Consbr., cited above in the appendix to chapter 3.

[75] See Pfeiffer 1968: 185; Gentili xxvi–xxvii.

[76] These references are few. Frr. 1, 2, 18 G (= 348–50 *PMG*) are specifically from Book 1; frr. 27, 19, 20, and 21 (351–54 *PMG*) from Book 2; and frr. 33 and 34 G (355 and 356 *PMG*) are specifically from Book 3. In his edition Gentili attributes other fragments from their metrical schemata to these books; frr. 1–18 G are attributed to Book 1; frr. 19–32 to Book 2; frr. 33–38 Book 3.

[77] Cf. Lambin 2002: 53.

Assuming an average of a thousand lines per book (i.e., papyrus roll), we are talking about at least three thousand lines of verse.[78]

As is the case with Sappho, a much later epigram is the basis of the canonical number of five books attributed to Anacreon—an epigram of the first-century-BCE poet Crinagoras, thought to have accompanied a gift of books to Antonia, daughter of Marc Antony and Octavia, and mother of the emperor Claudius (Crinagoras 7 GP):

βύβλων ἡ γλυκερὴ λυρικῶν ἐν τεύχεϊ τῷδε
πεντὰς ἀμιμήτων ἔργα φέρει χαρίτων
†Ἀνακρείοντος, ἃς ὁ Τήιος ἡδὺς πρέσβυς†
ἔγραψεν ἢ παρ᾽ οἴνον ἢ σὺν Ἱμέροις.
δῶρον δ᾽ εἰς ἱερὴν Ἀντωνίῃ ἥκομεν ἠῶ
κάλλευς καὶ πραπίδων ἔξοχ᾽ ἐνεγκαμένῃ.
Page: fort. Ἀνακρέοντος ἃς ὁ Τήιος ‹⏑ –› | ἔγραψεν κτλ.

This sweet quintet of lyric book-rolls in this chest brings works of inimitable charms, Anacreon's, which that charming old man from Teos composed at his wine or with the Desires' help. We come to her holy day, a gift for Antonia, who far surpasses all in beauty and wisdom.

Several problems beset the text and interpretation of this poem. In their edition, Gow and Page have kept the name of Anacreon in line 3, though the text, especially of the end of the line, is uncertain.[79] And while πεντάς is clear, λυρικὰ βιβλία need not mean of one poet rather than of several. Given the limits of our evidence, it is more prudent to grant that we have specific references to three books of lyric poems. That so little of Anacreon has survived in papyrus finds adds to the problem.

4.5. Ibycus in the *Argonautica* Scholia

The *Suda* entry on Ibycus (*Suda* s.v. Ἴβυκος p. 2.607 Adler = T A1 *PMGF*) offers three pieces of information about Ibycus's poetry before leaping (metaphorically speaking) into the narrative of the Cranes of Ibycus:

γέγονε δὲ ἐρωτομανέστατος περὶ μειράκια καὶ πρῶτος εὗρε τὴν καλουμένην σαμβύκην. εἶδος δέ ἐστι κιθάρας τριγώνου. ἔστι δὲ αὐτοῦ τὰ βιβλία ζ′ τῇι Δωρίδι διαλέκτωι.

[78] Anacreon's elegies and iambic verses would bring this to an even larger number.

[79] See Gow and Page 1968: II 217–18; the main problem is the ‹⏑–› needed to finish the line rather than the phrase ἡδὺς πρέσβυς.

> He was the most madly in love with young boys, and first invented the so-called *sambykē*; this is a kind of triangular lyre. He has ten books in the Doric dialect.

The *Suda* entry then continues, and at some length, with the narrative of Ibycus's death at the hands of robbers and the revelation of his murder by passing cranes, which is the origin of the saying "the cranes of Ibycus." This episode captured the imagination of generations of poets, from the Hellenistic period (e.g., Antipater of Sidon 19 GP) to the German Romantics. Schiller's poem "Die Kraniche des Ibykus" was long the most popular representation of Ibycus in the West.

Of the ten books ascribed to Ibycus by the *Suda* life, there remain almost no traces; only two of these are attested, Books 1 and 5, the first by a scholion to *Argonautica* 4.57, from Selene's mockery of Medea:[80]

> Οὐκ ἄρ' ἐγὼ μούνη μετὰ Λάτμιον ἄντρον ἀλύσκω,
> οὐδ' οἵη καλῷ περιδαίομαι Ἐνδυμίωνι.

> I am not alone in wandering around the cave of Latmus, nor am I alone on fire for lovely Endymion.

The scholiast here (p. 264 Wendel) says that Ibycus in his Book 1 named Endymion king of Elis: Ἴβυκος δὲ ἐν α′ Ἤλιδος αὐτὸν [*sc.* τὸν Ἐνδυμίωνα] βασιλεῦσαί φησι. Endymion as an example of young male beauty is not a surprising figure in the poetry of Ibycus, who was famed in antiquity for his poetry for beautiful youths. Nor is the scholarly citation surprising, for of the Ibycus fragments that survive in the indirect tradition a surprisingly large number are in the same scholia. The situation is less impressive than that of the Simonides fragments in the Apollonius scholia,[81] for there are far fewer scholiastic references to Ibycus. There are, however, enough to justify a survey of them in the context of the scholia to Apollonius.

The Ibycus fragments that occur in the scholia to the *Argonautica* are the following (all are *PMGF* numbers; the relevant lines of Apollonius are in parentheses): 284 (4.57), 289a (3.114–17), 291 (4.814–15), 299 (2.777–79), 301 (1.287), 304 (1.146–49), 324 (3.26), 336 (3.106), 337 (4.1348). For ease of reading, and also to follow the sequence of these references, I survey the fragments in the order in which they appear in the scholia.

Two fragments, 301 and 304, appear in the scholia to *Argonautica* 1. At *Argonautica* 1.287–89 Jason's mother, Alcimede, laments the possible loss of her only τόκος. The scholiast (p. 33 Wendel) observes that she means "son," not "child": εἶχεν γὰρ [*sc.* Jason] ἀδελφὴν Ἱππολύτην, ὥς φησιν Ἴβυκος ("for Jason

[80] I discuss this passage and its echoes of Sappho above in chapter 1, in "Epilogue: Selene and Endymion" under subsection 1.2.2, "A Fire Burns Again: Medea and Sappho Fragment 31."

[81] See below, chapter 5, section 5.4, "Apollonius and Simonides."

had a sister, Hippolyta, as Ibycus says"). Fragment 304 is a scholion on Apollonius's designation of Leto as Aetolian at *Argonautica* 1.146 (p. 19 Wendel):

> εἰκότως αὐτὴν [*sc*. Λήδαν] Αἰτωλίδα εἶπεν, ἐπεὶ Αἰτωλὸς ὁ Θέστιος. καὶ εἴρηκεν ἀπὸ τῆς χώρας, ὡς ἐάν τις τὸν Συρακόσιον Σικελὸν λέγηι ἢ τὸν Ῥωμαῖον Ἰταλόν. ὁ δὲ Ἴβυκος αὐτὴν Πλευρωνίαν φησίν, Ἑλλάνικος δὲ Καλυδωνίαν [*FGrHist* 4 F 119].
>
> It makes sense that he called her Aetolian, since Thestius is in Aetolia. He has spoken of her country, as if someone were to call a Syracusan Sicilian or a Roman Italian. Ibycus says she was from Pleuron; Hellanicus, from Calydon.

The one fragment (299 *PMGF*) from the scholia to *Argonautica* 2 concerns the girdle that Apollonius here (lines 777–79, in the words of the Bebrycian king Lycus) has Heracles bring from Hippolyta, queen of the Amazons:

> ἀκολούθως τῷ μύθῳ πεζὸν τὸν Ἡρακλέα φησὶν ἐπὶ τὸν ζωστῆρα τῆς Ἱππολύτης ἀπελθεῖν . . . πολλοὶ δὲ λόγοι περὶ τοῦ ζωστῆρός εἰσιν. τινὲς μὲν γὰρ Ἱππολύτης, ἄλλοι δὲ Δηϊλύκης. Ἴβυκος δὲ ἰδίως ἱστορῶν Οἰολύκης τῆς Βριάρεω θυγατρός φησιν.
>
> It fits the story when he [*sc*. Apollonius] says that Heracles went off on foot to fetch the girdle of Hippolyta . . . There are many stories about this girdle: some say it was Hippolyta's, some Deïlyca's. Only Ibycus says it belonged to Oeolyca, daughter of Briareus.

The three Ibycus fragments from the scholia to *Argonautica* 3 all come from the first scene of the book. The first, fragment 324, is from a scholion to *Argonautica* 3.26 and refers to differing versions of Eros's birth, those of Sappho, Simonides, and Hesiod. There is a reference to Ibycus, but sadly his version is missing.[82]

The second, a scholion to *Argonautica* 3.106, ῥαδινῆς (τὴν δ' Ἥρη ῥαδινῆς ἐπεμάσσατο χειρός, "Hera touched her [*sc*. Aphrodite's] slender hand"), says that Ibycus used this adjective of the pillars that support heaven, and suggests, rather implausibly, that Ibycus understood the adjective ῥαδινός to mean "of great size." This scholion is an odd one, as it presents three unlikely definitions for the lyric term ῥαδινός, one each associated with Anacreon (fr. 137 G = 456 *PMG*), Ibycus, and Stesichorus (fr. 243 *PMGF*) in turn. The scholion seems to be a somewhat limited attempt to explain lyric metaphor.

Yet the line of Apollonius is an especially compelling example of the complex nexus of Archaic lyric and Hellenistic poetry:

> Ὣς φάτο· τὴν δ᾽Ἥρη ῥαδινῆς ἐπεμάσσατο χειρός,
> ἦκα δὲ μειδιόωσα παραβλήδην προσέειπεν·

[82] Wilamowitz proposed Ἴβυκος δὲ Ἀφροδίτης καὶ Ἡφαίστου, ὁ δὲ Ἡσίοδος for Ἴβυκος ‹ . . . . . ›, ὁ δὲ Ἡσίοδος, but apart from the fact that this parentage is missing in the list given by the scholiast the substitution is not an obvious one.

> So she [*sc*. Aphrodite] spoke. Hera touched her slender hand and with a smile made this response.

Both ῥαδινός, as epithet of Aphrodite, and μειδιόωσα recall Sappho (frr. 102.2, βραδίναν δι' Ἀφροδίταν; 1.14, μειδιαί$_{L}$ σαις' ἀθανάτωι προσώπωι). Here the smile is transferred to Hera, who is the one offering comfort and advice, while Aphrodite is cast in a plaintive role. There is a certain humor in Aphrodite's attributes transferred to another. The same imagery appears at Theocritus 17.36–37, here of Aphrodite: τᾷ μὲν Κύπρον ἔχοισα Διώνας πότνια κούρα | κόλπον ἐς εὐώδη ῥαδινὰς ἐσεμάξατο χεῖρας.[83] Theocritus 17, as it happens, is in turn in some ways parallel, if mostly thematically and structurally, with Ibycus's *Encomium to Polycrates* (fr. S151 *PMGF*). I touch briefly on this similarity in the concluding pages of this chapter.

The third Ibycus fragment found in the scholia to *Argonautica* 3, (289a) is a scholion to *Argonautica* 3.114–17 (p. 220 Wendel), Apollonius's presentation of Ganymede. These lines already, as we have seen, evoke both Sappho and Anacreon. The scholion tells of Ibycus's version of the Ganymede story:

> διὰ τούτων τῶν στίχων παραγράφει τὰ εἰρημένα ὑπὸ Ἰβύκου ἐν οἷς περὶ τῆς Γανυμήδους ἁρπαγῆς ἐν τῇ εἰς Γοργίαν ᾠδῇ· καὶ ἐπιφέρει περὶ τῆς Ἠοῦς ὡς ἥρπασε Τιθωνόν.
>
> In these lines he [*sc*. Apollonius] takes over what Ibycus said in his version of the rape of Ganymede in his song for Gorgias; and he [Ibycus] relates how Dawn carried off Tithonus.

Like the scholion that reports Theocritus's debt to Stesichorus in the composition of *Idyll* 18,[84] this is at the same time a witness to artistic appropriation and also a tantalizingly frustrating one, as Ibycus's original has not survived. Ibycus's poetry on beautiful boys appears to have cast its hue on Apollonius's portrayal of boy divinities in particular—perhaps not surprisingly, when we consider some of the slivers of homoerotic praise that we can still glimpse in Ibycus's extant fragments (e.g., frr. S257(a), 288 *PMGF*).[85] The description of

[83] I discuss this passage in greater detail above in chapter 2, section 2.1, "In the Lap of Arsinoe."
[84] See above, chapter 1, subsection 1.1.2, "Overtones of Sappho in a Wedding Song."
[85] Ibycus fr. S257(a) *PMGF* fr. 1 col. i. Restorations are those of M. L. West (1984):

] δέ c' ὕμνοι
] ἐπηράτοιειν, ὦ Χα-
ρις, ῥόδων ἔ]θρεψας αὐτὸν ἐν κάλυξιν
Ἀφροδίτας] ἀμφὶ ναόν·
στέφαν]ον εὐώδη με δεῖ
]ν ἔχι[ι]ce θωπά-
ζοιca παιδ]ίcκον. τέρεν δὲ
κάλλος ὠ]πάcαν θεαί.
] μάν Δίκα θε-
β]αρύνομαι δὲ γυῖα,

Eros winning at play at *Argonautica* 3.121–22, γλυκερὸν δέ οἱ ἀμφὶ παρειὰς | χροιῆς θάλλεν ἔρευθος ("and a sweet blush bloomed about his cheeks"), is (for example) one that suggests itself as a likely imitation.

I have already touched on one of the three references to Ibycus in the scholia to *Argonautica* 4, namely the reference to Ibycus's treatment of Endymion in the scholion to *Argonautica* 4.57.[86] The third of these in sequence, a scholion to *Argonautica* 4.1348 (Jason's revelation of the Libyan maidens' appearance to him) notes Ibycus's use of the term στρεφωτήρ, "clothed in hides," in the phrase στρεφωτῆρα στρατόν (fr. 337 *PMGF*). The most interesting of these scholia for this study is the second (fr. 291 *PMGF*), a scholion to *Argonautica* 4.814–15, in a passage where Hera tells Thetis that one day Medea will be her daughter-in-law, for in the Elysian Fields she will marry Achilles. To this a scholiast notes: ὅτι δὲ Ἀχιλλεὺς εἰς τὸ Ἠλύσιον πεδίον παραγενόμενος ἔγημε Μήδειαν πρῶτος Ἴβυκος εἴρηκε, μεθ' ὃν Σιμωνίδης [fr. 558 *PMG*] ("Ibycus was the first to say that Achilles on coming to the Elysian Plain married Medea, and Simonides followed him").

Ibycus, like his fellow West Dorian Stesichorus, composed heroic narratives in lyric. This may indeed have been a part of the appeal of these two poets from the Greek West for the later Alexandrians. The scholion to *Argonautica* 4.814–15 shows something more, however, namely that Ibycus treated at least the legend of Medea in lyric, as does the scholion to *Argonautica* 1.287–89 (fr. 301 *PMGF*). This suggests that both Ibycus and Simonides, whose extant fragments derive so largely from the *Argonautica* scholia,[87] were, with Pindar's *Pythian* 4,

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πόλλὰ δ' ἀ]γρύπνο[υ]c ἰαύων,
νύκτας ὁρμ]αίνω φρε]νί.
. . . .

and songs (. . .) among lovely, Charis, you raised him among rosebuds near the Temple of Aphrodite. Fragrant must I (. . .) the crown (. . .) she anointed, marveling at the boy. The gods gave him soft beauty. But Justice (. . .) my limbs are heavy, passing sleepless nights I ponder many things in my heart.

Fr. 288 *PMGF*:

Εὐρύαλε γλαυκέων Χαρίτων θάλος ‹ *4* ›
καλλικόμαν μελέδημα, σε μὲν Κύπρις
ἄ τ' ἀγανοβλέφαρος Πει-
θὼ ῥοδέοισιν ἐν ἄνθεσι θρέψαν.

Euryalus, young shoot of the gray-eyed Graces (. . .) care of the fair-haired (. . .), you Cypris and gentle-lidded Persuasion tended among rose blossoms.

The description of Eros winning at play at *Arg.* 3.121–22, γλυκερὸν δέ οἱ ἀμφὶ παρειὰς | χροιῆς θάλλεν ἔρευθος, "and a sweet blush bloomed about his cheeks," is one that may well recall Anacreon or Ibycus—ἔρευθος is not an epic term but a lyric one.

[86] Above in this chapter.

[87] See below, chapter 5, section 5.4, "Apollonius and Simonides."

lyric models for Apollonius. Pindar's poem has survived; Apollonius's debt to Pindar's lyric treatment of the legend of the Argonauts is one we can immediately assess. Simonides' and Ibycus's versions have not survived, but their recurrent presence in the Apollonius scholia attests to their role in Apollonius's poetic composition—scholiasts, again, in explicating poetry cite allusive models for a reason, as do we. Apollonius had in front of him an extensive lyric tradition that had appropriated the heroic narrative of the *Argonautica* into lyric mode. Apollonius, in turn, brings this lyric appropriation into his hexameter poem—his poem is heir to both hexameter and lyric treatments of heroic material, as well as to the generic discourse between them. Comparison with a contemporary poet is revealing. Callimachus, through appropriating the philosophical discourse on poetry and its truth value into his own poetry, implicitly acknowledges the fait accompli of philosophy's earlier assumption of the Muses, the Mouseion, vatic truth, and of poetry itself as subject for philosophical discourse.[88] His poetry, in its reflection of philosophical discourse on poetry, responds to that earlier act of appropriation and reworks the discourse—in poetry. Apollonius brings into his hexameter poem a long lyric tradition treating heroic material, and with that many of the generic characteristics of that lyric treatment. He brings these into hexameter, and thereby continues the evolution of heroic narrative in new tones.

4.6. And You, Polycrates

καὶ τὰ μὲ[ν ἂν] Μοίσαι σ̣ε̣σοφι̣[σ]μ̣έναι
εὖ Ἑλικωνί̣δ[ες] ἐ̣μβαίεν †λόγω[ι,
θνατ[ὸ]σ† δ' ο̣ὔ̣ κ̣[ε]ν ἀνὴρ
διερὸς τὰ ἕκαστα εἴποι,

(Ibycus fr. 282.23–26 *PMGF*)

On these themes the learnèd Heliconian Muses might embark (in story?), but no mortal man could tell each detail,

Ὕλλις ἐγήνατο, τῶι δ' [ἄ]ρα Τρωίλον
ὡσεὶ χρυσὸν ὀρει-
χάλκωι τρὶς ἄπεφθο[ν] ἥδη
—
Τρῶες Δ[α]ναοί τ' ἐρό[ε]σσαν
μορφὰν μάλ' ἐίσκοϝ ὅμοιον.
τοῖς μὲν πέδα κάλλεος αἰὲν

[88] See Acosta-Hughes and Stephens 2007. On the Platonic appropriation of poetic figure, see esp. P. Murray 2002 and 2004.

καὶ σύ, Πολύκρατες, κλέος ἄφθιτον ἐξεῖς
ὡς κατ᾽ ἀοιδὰν καὶ ἐμὸν κλέος.

(Ibycus fr. 282.41–48 *PMGF*)

Hyllis bore, and to him Trojans and Danaans likened Troilus in his lovely form as gold already thrice refined to orichalc. For these is beauty ever their share, and you, Polycrates, will have undying fame as my song and fame bestow.

Two papyrus fragments (*P.Oxy*. 1790 + 2081 [fr. S151 = fr. 282 *PMGF*]) preserve forty-eight lines of a triadic encomium to Polycrates, now generally accepted to be by Ibycus.[89] Above I give two passages that have special relevance for this study. The first is the poetic gesture, similar to a recusatio, of lines 23–26; the second, the inclusion, in the closing epode, of the royal laudandus among the figures of the heroic past. We are familiar with this convention in the context of epinician poetry. Here, however, we have something different, a praise poem (encomium) to a ruler by a court poet. There are other examples of this genre from the Archaic period (e.g., Pindar frr. 118–20 S-M), but this encomium to Polycrates is the best-preserved example and provides an important witness to a type of court poetry that the Hellenistic poets had as cultural inheritance when they, in a later period, started composing royal encomia.[90] The papyrus fragments preserve the end of Ibycus's poem, which was likely much longer and may well have included considerably more material on Polycrates, to whom the laudandus returns briefly following the mythological exemplum.[91]

The poet's appeal to the Muses is a standard gesture, but with a twist. The theme is traditional,[92] the imagery conventional; yet the modern reader is startled by Muses termed *sesophismenai*, "learnèd" or "skilled." The standard parallel given by the commentaries, Theognis 19–20, Κύρνε, σοφιζομένῳ μὲν ἐμοὶ σφρηγὶς ἐπικείσθω | τοῖσδε᾽ ἔπεσιν, ("Cyrnus, may these words be the proven signal of my skill"), does not resolve the problem. The referent here is the poet, not his source of inspiration. Nor does the Hesiodic parallel at *Works and Days* 650–62 really help here. Though Hesiod's Muses are also Heliconian,[93] it is again the poet who is not *sesophismenos*, "schooled" (*WD* 649), in sailing and ships.

[89] The translation of the last lines of fr. 282 is not easy; see Weber 1993: 37–38. There are those who do not care for the double κλέος, but surely the repetition of the sounds in κάλλεος . . . κλέος . . . κλέος is deliberate. On the attribution, see Gerber 1997: 191–97; Hutchinson 2001: 228–35 passim.

[90] On the tradition, see Weber 1993: 33–44; on this poem 36–38. See Hunter 2003: 24–25.

[91] Hutchinson 2001: 237.

[92] Ibycus is varying the Homeric appeal to the Muses at the opening of the Catalogue of Ships (*Il.* 2.484–93), importantly calling attention to his epic model here in lyric mode. Homer's Muses inherently know all (line 485: ὑμεῖς γὰρ θεαί ἐστε, πάρεστέ τε, ἴστέ τε πάντα, "for you are goddesses; you are there; you know all things"). Could Ibycus with *sesophismenai* be further playing on his relationship with his Homeric model—i.e., his Muses know their Homer?

[93] Gerber 1997: 133.

As to song, it is the Muses who have taught the poet to sing "an unimaginable hymn" (*WD* 662, Μοῦσαι γάρ μ' ἐδίδαξαν ἀθέσφατον ὕμνον ἀείδειν). They are the ones who teach, and he is the one who is trained. The lines of Ibycus cited above have a very different characterization. That the Muses here have their learning at second degree, a learning not inherent but acquired, might be understandably assumed to be a Hellenistic gesture, where inversion of Muses and poet is frequently cited as a signal artistic feature of the period.[94]

The association at the poem's end of laudandus with figures of the mythohistorical past is conventional in encomiastic poetry. (Pindar's epinicians provide a wealth of parallels.) Yet in a few respects this poem is different. Though Polycrates' Samos is distant from the Trojan War in time, Samos is not far from Troy, nor from the rising Persian War, another East-West conflict. The iconography of this poem, like that of Theocritus's *Encomium for Ptolemy* (*Id*. 17) is twofold. The poet celebrates the laudandus among the figures of the heroic past and, at the same time, projects that heroic past onto present political reality. For Ibycus here, as for Theocritus in *Idyll* 17, the heroic past is not just a model but a continuum. And while a poem like Simonides' Plataea elegy also serves as a model for Theocritus's *Encomium for Ptolemy*, in terms of the iconography of an East-West opposition,[95] that poem celebrates a community and its collective victory. Ibycus's poem celebrates one ruler and gives lasting *kleos* to one man.

[94] Paduano 1970 remains a seminal study.

[95] See below, chapter 5, section 5.3, "Theocritus and Simonides, Part 2."

CHAPTER 5

Simonides Recalled

IMITATIONS OF A *POIKILOS* ORIGINAL

Ulrich von Wilamowitz observed that we are at a particular disadvantage when it comes to the fifth-century-BCE poet Simonides: we know him largely not through his poetry, sadly little of which survives, but primarily through anecdote.[1] And the anecdotal tradition invariably biases our appreciation of this poet: we look for signs of his φιλαργυρία ("avarice") and αἰσχροκέρδεια ("acquisitiveness") in the later poets who emulate him. Other features of his work mirrored, however obliquely, in later verse are hidden from us through lack of the reflected original. The Simonides whom Callimachus places so centrally in the early part of Book 3 of the *Aetia* may well have had a far greater presence in Alexandrian and indeed Roman poetry than we can ever know.[2] The publication of the new fragments of the Plataea elegy have precipitated a broad scholarly reevaluation of the poet Simonides, his poetry, and his role as a model for later poetic voices. My discussion in the first three sections of this chapter, a reading of Simonides in one poem of Callimachus and two *Idylls* of Theocritus, is intended to further some of our lines of inquiry—concerning both the role of the model in Hellenistic poetry and some of the varieties of Hellenistic emulation.

5.1. Callimachus and Simonides

Poems configured as reading earlier monuments that are themselves physical texts are a novelty of Callimachus's art. These are poems where an embedded text, and a remembered life, take on a new and different life through their recollection by a later reader and poet. Callimachus's *Tomb of Simonides*, fragment 64, is one of several speaking monuments in his long elegiac *Aetia*.[3] Part of the conceit of this work is that the monument, the poem's narrator, narrates its own inscription. In other words, it engages in an act of reading an earlier poem. This is perhaps one of the more elaborate and remarkable evolutions of the funerary

[1] Wilamowitz 1913: 137.

[2] On Simonides and Horace, see especially Barchiesi 1996.

[3] Burzachechi's 1962 "oggetti parlanti" is the origin of this now standard expression for the widespread Greek phenomenon of the speaking inanimate object.

epigrammatic convention in which the monument speaks of its own inscribed letters, of inscription itself, and of its own physicality.[4] The poem is also remarkable for its layered voice: not only does the tomb speak for the poet Simonides; it is Callimachus, the later poet, who assumes the voice of the tomb and so the voice of Simonides.[5]

The structure and evolution of the *Aetia* legitimately allow us to consider individual aitia as self-contained works that are aesthetically interdependent—several of the occasional pieces included in the *Aetia* are known to have originally circulated independently—for example, *The Victory of Berenice* (*SH* 254–68 C), *The Lock of Berenice* (fr. 110), and others may well have done so (e.g., *Acontius and Cydippe* frr. 67–75).[6] One Milan papyrus (*P.Mil.* I 18), a prose *diēgēsis* (Lat. *narratio*) to several of Callimachus's works, provides an ancient reading of the *Aetia* as individual panels of a larger frame.[7] Another (*P.Mil.Vogl.* VIII 309), which preserves more than a hundred new epigrams attributed to Posidippus, is a similar example of a Hellenistic poetry book: each piece (here epigram) undergoes a two-stage artistic evolution: first its original composition and then its inclusion within the book setting.[8] The situation with *The Tomb of*

[4] On these, see Walsh 1991: 83–84. Fantuzzi and Hunter (2004: 46) in their discussion of the structure of *Aetia* 3 and 4 characterize the various voices other than the poet himself that narrate the aitia of the latter books of the poem as *personae loquentes*. One wonders whether Callimachus is not following here on a feature of especially Archaic iambic, one that we find also in his *Iambi*. (See also Harder in de Jong et al. 2004.) On the speaking statues of the *Iambi*, see Acosta-Hughes 2002: 266–67, 294–303.

[5] See Bing 1988: 69: "The poem is thus a commemoration of a commemoration of a commemoration." Bing (ibid. 67) also observes that, in contrast to the convention of such tomb epigrams, the voice of Simonides here does not actually speak from the tombstone, a fact that itself serves as the aition of Callimachus's poem.

[6] Cf. Ov. *RA* 381–82: "Callimachi numeris non est dicendus Achilles | Cydippe non est oris, Homere, tui," "Achilles ought not to be sung in Callimachean meter, nor is Cydippe a subject, Homer, for your voice." On the structure of the *Aetia*, see Harder 1993; see also Fantuzzi and Hunter 2004 (44–49, esp. 46), where their observations on the single aitia of *Aetia* 3 and 4 are particularly relevant: "Some individual *aitia* now assumed the look of individual 'poems' marked by clear opening and closural devices; it is consonant with this change that there is evidence that some, at least, circulated as individual poems before as well as after their inclusion within the *Aetia*, and the aetiological direction of several narratives seems very weak by comparison with the narratives of Books 1 and 2."

On the possible circulation of *Acontius and Cydippe*, see Cameron 1995: 19–22, 255–58.

[7] *P.Mil.* I 18, first edited by Norsa and Vitelli (1934), begins with *Aetia* 3.67 and continues with the *Iambi*, frr. 226–29 (the *melē*), the *Hecale*, and the first two hymns, where the papyrus breaks off. A recent discovery of two more small papyrus fragments of the *diēgēsis* (*P.Mil.Vogl.* inv. 1006 and *P.Mil.Vogl.* inv. 28b) allows a more approximate ordering of the aitia that comprised *Aetia* 3: see Gallazzi and Lehnus 2002. While it is not surprising that the *diēgētēs* summarizes the *Aetia* by individual aition (i.e., it is a logical way to break up a large text), it is a revealing act in itself: the *diēgētēs* sees the poem as episodic, and the summarizing of discrete aitia highlights their relationship, both separately and collectively, with one another.

[8] On the aesthetic arrangement of the new Posidippus, see the chapters by Gutzwiller and by Krevans in Gutzwiller 2005. On the effect of arrangement of individual episodes for the collective

Simonides is generically a particularly evocative one, as the poem of elegiac lines takes on the role, as it were, of an inscribed epigram and allusively plays on the image of inclusion of text into larger whole. This inclusion of individual poem into collection takes on a more significant aspect in that it mirrors the actions of Alexandrian scholars of earlier lyric—theirs is a task of inclusion and positioning, and so they are ultimately responsible for the aesthetic impact of one work upon another.

Callimachus's *Tomb of Simonides* tells of a broken text (Callim. fr. 64.1–19):[9]

Οὐδ' ἄ]ν τοι Καμάρινα τόσον κακὸν ὀκκόσον ἀ[ν]δρός
κινη]θεὶς ὁσίου τύμβος ἐπικρεμάσαι·

---

reading of *Aetia* 3, see Fantuzzi and Hunter 2004: 48: "Clearly then, Callimachus invites us to 'make meaning' as we read by constructing significance in the patterns we find."

[9] My text follows Massimilla 2005, who reread *P.Oxy*. 2211; I am extremely grateful to the author for letting me see his work in advance of publication (now Massimilla 2006: 34–35).

Barber's 1951 supplement ἴφι in the lacuna at the beginning of line 5 is the more attractive given the contrast of brain and brawn that the poem develops. See Massimilla 2006: 39.

The supplement πύργῳ in line 7 is based on parallel descriptions of stelae used in rapidly built fortifications—e.g., Thuc. 1.93.

Some scholars have taken περιccά in line 9 to mean either vowels or sounds, following the information given in the *Suda* life of Simonides. (See Massimilla 2006: 44 n. 33.) Rather better is "extraordinary things," which coordinates quite well with Di Marco's reading ὅcα in the following line.

G. B. D'Alessio proposed (at a *giornata di studio* on Callimachus held at the Università di Roma III on 14 May 2003) that cημεῖα ("symbols": i.e., letters) be read in the lacuna at the beginning of line 10, following in part on Lobel's original suggestion (*ad P.Oxy.* 2211.9–10) that this was a reference to Simonides' invention of the letters η, ω, and ψ. (Cf. *Suda* s.v. Σιμωνίδης.) See Bing 1988: 68 n. 30. However, D'Alessio observed in the following discussion that the lacuna does not have enough space for six letters. Angiò (2006: 57) suggests ἥειcα.

Di Marco suggested (on the same occasion; now Di Marco 2006: 53–56) that rather than read oc in line 10 as the relative pronoun ὅc, thus awkwardly duplicating the relative of the previous line, we read ὅc' (i.e., ὅcα) and take μνήμην as an accusative of respect. This follows a suggestion made by Barigazzi (1978: 75) that ὅc' be read here; Barigazzi suggests ποίηcα] for the initial lacuna. This reading is a real improvement, as it not only avoids the awkward rendition of ἐφρασάμην as "I conceived" (i.e., invented) but also far more accurately comprises what Simonides actually did in the anecdote related by Cicero (*De Orat*. 2.86.351–53) and others. Di Marco has now (2006: 55) proposed ὤνηcα] μνήμην πρῶτος ὅc' ἐφρασάμην, "I who enjoyed such amazing [*sc*. τὰ περιccά] memory, such were the things I devised." It is worth noting here that Callimachus uses ὀνίνημι elsewhere of poetic self-expression (cf. fr. 75.6, ὤναο).

Line 15 probably addresses the Dioscuri, as Nisetich (2001: 276), Massimilla (2006: 37), and others have suggested: cf. line 11, οὐδ' ὑμ̣έας, Πολύδευκες, ὑπέ̣τρεχεν, "nor had he any fear of you two, Polydeuces." The role of the Dioscuri in fr. 228 (*The Deification of Arsinoe*), which has a partly enigmatic but nonetheless evident aesthetic rapport with the opening of *Aetia* 3, is revealing. See Acosta-Hughes 2003: 483.

Pfeiffer (comm. *ad loc*.) cites an intriguing passage from Alciphron 3.32: τίς ἄρα μοι δαιμόνων ἐπίκουρος ἐγένετο; μή ποτε οἱ σωτῆρες Ἄνακες [ἄνακτες codd.], ὡς Σιμωνίδην τὸν Λεωπρέπους τοῦ Κραννωνίου συμποσίου, κἀμὲ τῶν τοῦ πυρὸς κρουνῶν ἐξήρπασαν; "Who then of the gods was my helper? Was it not the Savior Lords, as Simonides son of Leoprepes at the Crannonian symposium, 'and me too they snatched from the fire'?"

καὶ γ]ὰρ ἐμόν κοτε σῆμα, τό μοι πρὸ πόληος ἔχ[ευ]αν
Ζῆν’] Ἀκραγαντῖνοι Ξείν[ο]ι᾽ ᾰ̣ζόμενοι,
ἶφι κ]ατ᾽ οὖν ἤρειψεν ἀνὴρ κακός, εἴ τιν᾽ ἀκούει[c
Φοίνικ]α πτόλιος σχέτλιον ἡγεμόνα·
πύργῳ] δ᾽ ἐγκατέλεξεν ἐμὴν λίθον οὐδὲ τὸ γράμμα
ἠδέσθη τὸ λέγον τόν με Λεωπρέπεος
κεῖσθαι Κήϊον ἄνδρα τὸν ἱερόν, ὅς τὰ περισσά
. . καὶ] μνήμην πρῶτος ὅς᾽ ἐφρασάμην,
οὐδ᾽ ὑμέας, Πολύδευκες, ὑπέτρεσεν, οἵ με μελάθρου
μέλλοντος πίπτειν ἐκτὸς ἔθεσθέ κοτε
δαιτυμόνων ἄπο μοῦνον, ὅτε Κραννώνιος αἰαῖ
ὤλισθεν μεγάλους οἶκος ἐπὶ Σκοπάδας.
ὤναξ, ἀλ . .[ϊ . .] . γὰρ ἔτ᾽ ἦν [
] . . . ωοῦμεδ[ ] . βοςιν .[
. . . . λμοὺς[ ] . ϊουνδο .[
. . . . . ηστ . [ ]εν ἀνῆγεν[
. . . . [ ] . [.] . ετ΄κ . .[

Not so much evil does Camarina threaten as a holy man’s grave if moved. And yet once my tomb, which before the city the Acragantines had poured, in honor of Zeus Xenios, a wicked man violently cast down—perhaps you’ve heard of him, Phoenix, evil leader of the city. He immured my tombstone into a [tower] nor honored the inscription that said that I, Leoprepes’ son, a holy man, lay there, I who (did) amazing things (. . .) and first demonstrated great things with memory, nor had he any fear of you two, Polydeuces, who when that hall was about to collapse set me outside, alone of all those guests, when their Crannonian home fell down upon the great Scopadae. Lords (. . .) for was yet (. . .) raised up (. . .)

These nineteen lines, preserved in a papyrus from Oxyrhynchus (*P.Oxy*. 2211, fr. 1v, 10–28), appear to encompass most of the aition:[10] the following aition

Although the ω of ὤναξ is uncertain, it is unlikely to be anything else. (Cf. Pfeiffer, Maasimilla *ad locum*.) The word is not unusual for Callimachus, but the coincidence of the Callimachus and Alciphron passages does make one wonder whether this is not the beginning of a citation from Simonides himself, or the fiction of such a citation: cf. *Iambus* 1.1, ἀκούσαθ᾽ Ἱππώνακτος· οὐ γὰρ ἀλλ᾽ ἥκω. A citation in the same poem that pretends to cite Simonides’ epitaph would be effective. Callimachus employs this sort of citation elsewhere (e.g., *Hy*. 1.8, 79). *Aetia* 3 seems to be especially explicit about the redeployment of earlier material (so, e.g., the chronicler Xenomedes in fr. 75, or, though differently, the “report,” χρύσεον ἔπος, of *SH* 254.6).

[10] A *corōnis* in the left margin (now damaged) would have indicated the beginning of a new aition. This use of the *corōnis* occurs elsewhere in *P.Oxy*. 2211 (fr. 66.9) and in the papyri that preserve fragments of *Aetia* 3 to mark the beginnings of new aitia: see further Pfeiffer, Massimilla *ad locum*. A scholion preserved by *P.Oxy.* 2258 (Pfeiffer, *Add. et Corr.* II 123; Massimilla *ad loc*.) may refer to the incipit of this aition.

(frr. 65–66, *The Argive Fountains*) probably began at line 19 of fragment 64 or a few lines later.[11] Several features of the poem stand out, particularly place, voice, and sound. The poem comprises a surprising variety not only of geographic places (Camarina, Acragas, possibly Carthage, Ceos, Crannon) but also of enclosed interiors (tomb, city, tower, chamber). The voice of this poem has always been one of its most enigmatic features. As a poem that plays upon the conventions of funeral epigrams, these lines evoke a removed and obliterated inscription, and a disassociation of tombstone and the dead it commemorated. The poet Callimachus takes on the voice of Simonides, famed composer of funeral epitaphs, here inscribing his own epitaph, through memory, onto not stone but papyrus. Line 7,] δ' ἐγκατέλεξεν ἐμὴν λίθον οὐδὲ τὸ γράμμα ("he immured my tombstone into a [tower] nor the inscription"), deliberately highlights the art of inscription. Stone, inscription, even ἐγκατέλεξεν becomes semantically ambiguous in this context.[12] The inscribed stone built into a tower also reduces the status of inscription to a mere building block. Finally, there is a play throughout the extant poem with palatal sounds, particularly κ: whether this artistic effect is meant to evoke some aspect of Simonides' verse, or has some other end, is unclear.[13]

Two other Simonidean features of the poem are noteworthy. Although we would now not ascribe the collection of epigrams that has come down to us as the *Syllogē Simonideia* to the Archaic poet, the evolution of this collection in its association with Simonides was a complex cultural process of the fourth and third centuries, one that rather reinforced the image of Simonides as author of

[11] See Pfeiffer, Massimilla *ad locum*. Lines 1–9 of *P.Oxy*. 2211, fr. 1r, preserve the end of the following aition (fr. 66).

[12] Thucydides uses ἐγκαταλέγειν similarly of the funerary stelae that the Athenians insert in their hastily constructed walls following the Persian Wars (1.93.2). A more remarkable use of the verb, however, occurs in Apollonius, who uses the verb once in *Argonautica* 4.431, in the description of the peplos in which Dionysus first slept with Ariadne, and which Jason and Medea use to trick Medea's brother Apsyrtus. Given to Jason by Hypsipyle, the peplos, like Jason's cloak in *Argonautica* 1, is evoked through its sensory effects on its audience (4.428–34): οὔ μιν ἀφάσσων | οὔτε κεν εἰσορόων γλυκὺν ἵμερον ἐμπλήσειας· | τοῦ δὲ καὶ ἀμβροσίη ὀδμὴ μένεν ἐξέτι κείνου | ἐξ οὗ ἄναξ αὐτὸς Νυσήιος ἐγκατέλεκτο | ἀκροχάλιξ οἴνῳ καὶ νέκταρι, καλὰ μεμαρπώς | στήθεα παρθενικῆς Μινωίδος, ἥν ποτε Θησεύς | Κνωσσόθεν ἑσπομένην Δίῃ ἔνι κάλλιπε νήσῳ, "never by touching nor gazing on it could you have enough of sweet desire: for from it yet came an ambrosial smell, from the time when the Nysian lord himself lay down upon it, flushed with wine and nectar, when he came upon the beautiful breasts of Minos's daughter, whom Theseus once left on the isle of Dia as she sought to follow him from Cnossus." While the sense of the verb in the two passages is somewhat different, there are two parallel features. In each case, there is disassociation of body from object, and in each case the object is put to malevolent use. Two other parallels: both passages are multiply reflective of past time; both innovatively import lyric into a different generic setting.

[13] K and χ are especially associated with death; cf. Dion. Hal. *Comp. Verb.* 16.12 and his citation of Hom. *Od*. 9.289–90 (with multiple κ and χ sounds). Cf. also Dion. Hal. ibid. 14.26–27 on κ and χ as the "worst" sounds.

epigram. One of these epigrams, *AP* 7.348 (*FGE* 37), is a scoptic funeral epigram for the poet Timocreon of Rhodes:[14]

> πολλὰ πιὼν καὶ πολλὰ φαγὼν καὶ πολλὰ κάκ᾽ εἰπών
> ἀνθρώπους κεῖμαι Τιμοκρέων Ῥόδιος.
>
> I who drank much, ate much, and often spoke ill of men, Timocreon the Rhodian, lie here.

Simonides was thus not only associated with the composition of funeral epigrams but specifically is credited with one for another poet. Κεῖμα[ι] here, as does κεῖσθα[ι] at Callimachus fragment 64.9, evokes the image of actual funeral marker, whether or not this is an inscribed epigram, as does the epithet Ῥόδιος, marking the poet's origin (as at fr. 67.9, Κῆϊον).[15] The fiction of Callimachus's speaking the epitaph of Simonides would be the more poignant if Simonides were himself in turn thought of as the voice of other poets' tombstones. Then there is the moral tone of this two-line poem. In much of his verse, Simonides treats definitions of good and evil.[16] Indeed the terms in which Callimachus casts the figures of his *Tomb of Simonides*, κακός, σχέτλιος, ἱερός, and even (64.13) μοῦνος, given its connotation here of moral exception, all work to create not only a tone that is consistent with the moral tone of *Aetia* 3, but one that also recreates the moral tone of much of Simonides' verse.[17]

The poem encompasses two monumental destructions: one that occurs after Simonides' death, one during his life.[18] Phoenix, the Acragantine general, engaged in a war with Syracuse, razes the poet's monument to use the stone in a fortified tower. The city then falls to the enemy.[19] Yet the event that the tomb, now destroyed, remembers, namely the Simonidean conception of memory, occurs in the context of a party given by Scopas, a Thessalian dynast.[20] Scopas gives the poet insufficient compensation for his song. A pair of divine figures summon the poet out of the house; the house collapses, killing all within. Only

[14] On this epigram, see Bravi 2006: 32.

[15] Cf. fr. 67.9, Κῆϊον.

[16] The examples are many: especially illustrative are 541 and 542 *PMG*, as well as the fragments of the *thrēnoi*.

[17] Many of the episodes of *Aetia* 3 are concerned with correct and incorrect ritual behavior: cf. further Fantuzzi and Hunter 2004: 46. This is also an important theme in Apollonius's *Argonautica*, and one of the many areas where the two poems are very close. See further Cuypers in de Jong et al.: 2004.

[18] The final episode of *Aetia* 3 concerns the dishonoring of the statue of the Olympic victor Euthycles of Locris. Fantuzzi and Hunter (2004: 47) are right to see the recurrence of dishonored monuments as one of the structural features of the book. The subject of *Iambus* 7 is also a dishonored statue.

[19] We know the outline from the *Suda*'s life of Simonides: both the date of this conflict and the identity of this general are unknown. See further Pfeiffer in his commentary, 1949: I 67; Massimilla 2006: 40–41.

[20] The most thorough version is in Cicero, *De Oratore* 2.86.

through his memory of where each guest was sitting is the poet able to recall the identity of the guests; their bodies are now unrecognizable. This act of recollection is then recalled again in our poem. And Simonides, the poet who celebrated his own μνήμη, is recalled in Callimachus's text again in the act of celebrating his μνήμη.[21]

The poem's reader, however we identify that figure here, engages in a multilayered act of reading. The reader of Callimachus's elegiac lines moves forward by construing speaker and context from a series of speakers and referents.[22] The reader of Simonides, as configured here, moves backward, in sequence of narrated events: the present tomb, its destruction, its inscribing, the living Simonides, and backward through memory.[23] Simonides' renowned mnemonic, celebrated in the tomb's inscription, is itself explained through narrated memory and, hence, remembered. Reading itself is variously represented in the text, whether as "writing that speaks" (τὸ γράμμα | . . . τὸ λέγον) or as the dishonored inscription, one not properly read. The writing embedded in the stone is in turn embedded in the tower. What surprises us in these lines is the physicality of the text—its inscription and its duration. The irony of Callimachus's poem is the recollection of a destroyed text and monument—a new poetic text almost seems to compensate for the loss of the original and to integrate it through a procedure of reconstruction that is typically Hellenistic. The poet of the past, Simonides, speaks through the voice of the Hellenistic Callimachus, whose memory is at stake no less than Simonides'.[24]

The Tomb of Simonides is further an enactment, both subtly and even somewhat humorously, of Simonides' own critique of the power of stone to

[21] See Rutherford 2001: 46. Cf. Simonides fr. 89 W (Aristides, *Or*. 28.59–60, II 160.20 Keil: μνήμην δ' οὔτινά φημι Σιμωνίδι ἰσοφαρίζειν, "I say that in memory no one competes with me, Simonides"). The anecdote from Aristides is revealing in two other respects. Here, too, Simonides represents himself as "son of Leoprepes," παιδὶ Λεωπρέπεος. His primacy in terms of memory is also at issue. That these three elements, self-celebration, memory, and filial bond, are highlighted both here and at Callim. fr. 64.7–10 suggests that Simonides' elegiac poetry may be the model for Callimachus here in several ways at once.

Theocritus also uses the term ἰσοφαρίζειν, also of poetic competition, at *Id*. 7.30–31: καίτοι κατ' ἐμὸν νόον ἰσοφαρίζειν | ἔλπομαι, "and yet I think in my mind I am your equal."

[22] One of the fragment's remarkable features is the change of number and referent in each two-line section; cf. Massimilla (2006: 50) on Callimachus's use of enjambment in these lines.

[23] *Aetia* 3.75, the longest of the extant fragments of the *Acontius and Cydippe* episode, exhibits another complex deployment of μνήμη: Callimachus recalls in his verse the history of Ceos while at the same time maintaining, through apostrophe and narrative empathy, an ongoing quasi dialogue with the figure Acontius. Callimachus looks back to the history of Ceos. The chronicler Xenomedes at the same time reads this history with Acontius while looking forward—the final lines splendidly capture this confusion: εἶπε δέ, Κεῖε, | ξυγκραθέντ' αὐταῖς ὀξὺν ἔρωτα σέθεν | πρέσβυς ἐτητυμίῃ μεμελημένος, ἔνθεν ὁ πα[ι]δός | μῦθος ἐς ἡμετέρην ἔδραμε Καλλιόπην, "and he told me, Cean, mixing it with these of your sharp love, the old man, mindful of the truth; and from there the boy's story ran to my Calliope."

[24] As pointed out to me by M. Fantuzzi.

commemorate forever.[25] In his response to Cleobuolus's Midas inscription, Simonides criticizes the assumption that a funeral stele, a man-made object of inscribed stone, could commemorate the dead whom it glorifies for all time. (581.5–7 *PMG*): ἅπαντα γάρ ἐστι θεῶν ἥσσω· λίθον δὲ | καὶ βρότεοι παλάμαι θραύοντι· μωροῦ | φωτὸς ἅδε βουλά ("for all things are weaker than the gods: even stone do mortal hands shatter; this is the counsel of a foolish man"). The stele of *The Tomb of Simonides* exists no longer. Only its commemoration in song, in the voice of one poet commingled in another's, preserves it.

The Tomb of Simonides is one of several episodes of *Aetia* 3 that play upon the relationship of source and subsequent composition. The opening of *The Victory of Berenice* (fr. 383 + *SH* 254), highlighting the "golden narrative" of Berenice's victory at Nemea, recalls at the same time several of Pindar's *Nemean Odes*: for example, this poem imitates, especially in its opening lines, the first verses of *Nemean* 4. Further, the jointure of Egypt and Argos in the Danaid myth uses traditional Pindaric components to emphasize the generic place of Callimachus's epinician and its novelty.[26] Fragment 75, the longest and final fragment of *Acontius and Cydippe*, both foregrounds the chronicler Xenomedes of Ceos but also may evoke inter alia Bacchylides, whose first epinician also relates the episode of the Telchines' destruction, which Callimachus recalls here.[27] In his metapoetical evocation of the process of inclusion of earlier texts, golden word, inscription, chronicle, Callimachus both rather playfully defines his own act of creative reception and also aesthetically orders his sources.[28] This is not the place for a close reading of the geographical points of *Aetia* 3,[29] but it is worth emphasizing the parallelism of fragments 64 and 75. Both feature Cean heroes, earlier recalled texts, and acts of impiety and miraculous salvation.

Aetia 3 opened, as we know now, with Callimachus's recreation of Pindaric epinician; among the first episodes of the book is *The Tomb of Simonides*. One poet model is named, and one, at least as far as the extant fragments allow us to tell, is not. *Aetia* 1 and 2 evoke many figures of the cultural past. But Hesiod has

[25] On this, see Ford 2002: 105–9.

[26] Stephens 2003: 8–9.

[27] While not the only source for this narrative, which also appears in Pindar's *Paean* 4, it may be significant that the tale was told in the opening poem of Bacchylides' collection. The episode was narrated as well by Euphorion (fr. 115 Powell) and possibly Nicander.

[28] The choice of terms to depict this process is revealing, particularly when contrasted with those that Callimachus uses to describe earlier (and others') compositions: ἦλθεν (fr. 383 + *SH* 254.6), ἐγκατέλεξεν (fr. 64.7, if taken metaphorically), ἐκλύομεν (fr. 75.53), κάτθετο (fr. 75.55), ἔθηκε (fr. 75.63), ἐνεθήκατο (fr. 75.66), εἶπε (fr. 75.74), ξυγκραθέντ' (fr. 75.75), ἔδραμε (fr. 75.77). The contrast of literal and metaphorical is intriguing: ξυγκραθέντα, a term taken from the setting of the symposium (and hence of homoerotic love?) could serve as well as a metaphor for the *Aetia*.

[29] The geographical settings of *Aetia* 3 are Argos, Attica, Ceos and Acragas, Argos, Ceos, Elis, Miletus, Locris. In a recently published fragment of the Milan *diēgēsis* C. Galazzi and L. Lehnus (2001) have shown that the episode of Phalaeceus the Ambraciot immediately preceded the Attic Thesmophoria and so came second in this sequence.

a primacy of place in the setting of Callimachus's dream (fr. 2) on Helicon and in the return to the Heliconian imagery of the *Epilogue* (assuming this to have originally come at the end of *Aetia* 2).[30] *Aetia* 3 and 4 appear proportionately to have other central models, particularly lyric voices, especially in the two poems celebrating Berenice that frame the two books,[31] but also in several of the internal episodes, including *The Tomb of Simonides* and *Acontius and Cydippe*. Might this sequential reading and evocation of earlier poetry not reflect, in a large scope, the sequential reading of *Aetia* fragment 1? There too juxtaposition of allusive figures renders the presence of each the more effective, as that of Pindar and Simonides at the opening of *Aetia* 3. Let us keep this juxtaposition of Archaic models, Pindar and Simonides, in mind as we turn to another juxtaposed pair, Theocritus's *Idylls* 16 and 17.

5.2. Theocritus and Simonides, Part 1: *Idyll* 16

Theocritus's *Idyll* 16, *The Charites; or, Hiero*, has garnered somewhat mixed reviews among critics of Theocritus's verse. Scholars have admired it for its easy interweaving of poetic genres and models, and at the same time have found it a rather faded replica of Pindar's *Pythian* 1, the poem that it most closely imitates, and the poet whom, significantly, it does not name. I will return to this absence and that of another poet in *Idyll* 17, in my concluding comments on the two *Idylls*. I begin here, though, with a brief synopsis of the Simonidean recollections of *Idyll* 16 and then consider Simonides' presence, his explicit presence, as model in the poem.

Whether construed as a historical document or not, *Idyll* 16's primary focus is patronage: more specifically, the problematics of patronage, of a powerful man's support of poetic creation, in a setting where this relationship is no longer culturally guaranteed. As a delineation of poet-patron relations, *Idyll* 16 is at once history, celebration, and lament. It recalls earlier poet-patron relations in terms of earlier poetry and earlier poets.

The poem opens with a four-line antithesis that seemingly juxtaposes divine and human voices, as well as divine and human subject material. A slight ambiguity arises, however, in line 2, ὑμνεῖν ἀγαθῶν κλέα ἀνδρῶν ("to hymn the deeds of noble men"), an echo of Achilles' singing at *Iliad* 9.189, ἄειδε δ' ἄρα κλέα ἀνδρῶν ("and he was singing of the deeds of men"). The presence thus evoked of the ἡμίθεος ("demigod") Achilles complicates the antithesis. Achilles ἡμίθεος and the use of the verb ὑμνεῖν (note that Homer has ἀείδειν) in the

[30] There is still considerable scholarly debate on the original position and purpose of fr. 112 (the *Epilogue*). See esp. Knox 1985a and 1993a; Cameron 1995: 143–62. See also now Fantuzzi and Hunter 2004: 45–46.

[31] On the echoes of Sappho in fr. 110 (*The Lock of Berenice*), see above, chapter 2, section 2.1, "In the Lap of Arsinoe."

second part of the line both transcend the simpler boundaries of divine and mortal, as well as of hymn and encomium. This is a feature that Theocritus employs to different effect at *Idyll* 17.5 and 7–8.[32] It is the first of a series of complications in a poem that raises questions about the poetic calling.[33]

The poem then transitions, suddenly, from the apparently ageless realm of Muses, singer, and song to the contemporary situation of the Alexandrian poet. His songs, his Charites, now configured as unwanted papyrus rolls, return dejected to the cold setting of an empty box, surely the antithesis of the warm *xenia* that the Pindaric laudandus proffers his singer (Theocr. *Id*. 16.5–15):

> Τίς γὰρ τῶν ὁπόσοι γλαυκὰν ναίουσιν ὑπ' ἀῶ
> ἡμετέρας Χάριτας πετάσας ὑποδέξεται οἴκῳ
> ἀσπασίως, οὐδ' αὖθις ἀδωρήτους ἀποπέμψει;
> αἳ δὲ σκυζόμεναι γυμνοῖς ποσὶν οἴκαδ' ἴασι,
> πολλά με τωθάζοισαι ὅτ' ἀλιθίην ὁδὸν ἦλθον,
> ὀκνηραὶ δὲ πάλιν κενεᾶς ἐν πυθμένι χηλοῦ
> ψυχροῖς ἐν γονάτεσσι κάρη μίμνοντι βαλοῖσαι,
> ἔνθ' αἰεὶ σφίσιν ἕδρη ἐπὴν ἄπρακτοι ἵκωνται.
> τίς τῶν νῦν τοιόσδε; τίς εὖ εἰπόντα φιλήσει;
> οὐκ οἶδ'· οὐ γὰρ ἔτ' ἄνδρες ἐπ' ἔργμασιν ὡς πάρος ἐσθλοῖς
> αἰνεῖσθαι σπεύδοντι, νενίκηνται δ' ὑπὸ κερδέων.

> For who of those who dwell below the silvery dawn will gladly open their doors and receive our Graces in their home, and not send them away without a gift? For they come home with dark brow and naked feet, and deride me greatly because their journey was fruitless, then cowering they remain again, at the bottom of an empty chest, casting their heads on their cold knees, where they always have their place when they return unsuccessful. Who of those today is such a man? Who will love one who speaks well? I know of none. For no longer as before are men eager to be praised for their noble deeds, but they are overcome by profits.

The passage recasts, as has long been noted, an anecdote about Simonides: the poet, asked to compose an encomium for thanks (χάρις) rather than money, replied that he had two chests, one for thanks, one for money. The former, on

[32] The use of ὑμνεῖν here rather than ἀείδειν of the formal model may be another way of evoking the original model, now himself a hymnal subject in Simonides' hymn to Achilles in fr. 11. W. (Cf. Obbink 2001: 73, 84–85.) Read this way, the second part of line 2, after the caesura, becomes a subtle introduction of the two explicit poetic models of the larger poem *Id*. 16, namely Homer and Simonides. Ὕμνος is also the word of choice in Pindar.

[33] This type of inscribing an earlier singer, here Achilles, through earlier subject of song, here κλέα ἀνδρῶν, finds a revealing contemporary parallel in the opening line of Apollonius's *Argonautica*, where the opening of Medea's utterance at *Pyth*. 4.12, τε φωτῶν καὶ θεῶν, is similarly inscribed in Apollonius's παλαιγενέων κλέα φωτῶν.

being opened, was always empty.[34] The recollection of this anecdote is underlined by the epithet κενεᾶς ("empty") at line 10: and indeed the epithet here has little other function.[35] The recollection of the empty chest of the anecdotal tradition serves further both to assimilate the Simonidean anecdote and to call attention to Theocritus's different retelling.[36] Absent in our passage is the hand that opens the chest, the first-person figure of the Simonidean anecdote, the presence implied in line 6, ἡμετέρας, and με at line 10. Simonides is thus implicitly present already here, as he will be explicitly at lines 40–49.

K. Gutzwiller has suggested that the interrogatives at lines 5 and 13, τίς γάρ τῶν ὁπόσοι and τίς τῶν νῦν τοιόσδε may recall the interrogative opening of one of Simonides' epinician fragments (506 *PMG*):

> τίς δὴ τῶν νῦν τοσάδ' ἢ πετάλοισι μύρτων
> ἢ στεφάνοισι ῥόδων ἀνεδήσατο,
> νικ‹άσ›αις ἐν ἀγῶνι περικτιόνων;
>
> Who of those today has so often bound himself with myrtle leaves, or garlands of roses, upon winning in the contest of his neighbors?

The context of this citation, Photius, *Lexicon* s.v. περιαγειρόμενοι (II 77 Naber, pp. 413–14 Porson), involves collection, athletes going around and accepting what was offered.[37] This lends some support to Gutzwiller's suggestion of deliberate echo rather than conventional aporia,[38] and adds two elegant touches to this Simonidean passage in *Idyll* 16. The recreation of the Simonidean χάρις anecdote is then framed by Simonidean echoes—unobtrusive, to be sure, but that nonetheless serve to distinguish the opening and conclusion of the Simonidean

[34] The clearest version is Stobaeus 3.10.38: Σιμωνίδην, παρακαλοῦντός τινος ἐγκώμιον ποιῆσαι καὶ χάριν ἕξειν λέγοντος ἀργύριον δὲ μὴ διδόντος, Δύο, εἶπεν οὗτος, ἔχω κιβωτούς, τὴν μὲν χαρίτων τὴν δὲ ἀργυρίου· καὶ πρὸς τὰς χρείας τὴν μὲν τῶν χαρίτων κενὴν εὑρίσκω ὅταν ἀνοίξω, τὴν δὲ χρησίμην μόνην, "Simonides, when someone asked him to compose an encomium and said that he [*sc*. Simonides] would have his thanks if he didn't give him silver, said, 'I have two chests, one for thanks and one for silver. And when need arises I find the one for thanks ever empty when I open it, but the other alone is useful.'"

[35] As Gow's explanation (1952: II 308) well illustrates. Surely the very singularity of the use of the adjective is meant to signal the original anecdote. Simonides evocatively uses this adjective in a metaphorical sense at 542.22 *PMG* (cited in Plato's *Protagoras*). I give lines 21–23: τοὔνεκεν οὔ ποτ' ἐγὼ τὸ μὴ γενέσθαι | δυνατὸν διζήμενος κενεὰν ἐς ἄ- | πρακτον ἐλπίδα μοῖραν αἰῶνος βαλέω, "therefore never will I, for what cannot be, in searching cast my share of life for empty, impracticable hope." The parallel of fruitless search in the two passages is intriguing, and Theocritus may well mean to recreate Simonides' usage in his recollection of the poet in *Id*. 16.

[36] For this observation I thank M. Fantuzzi.

[37] Phot. *Lex*. s.v. περιαγειρόμενοι, II 77 Naber = pp. 413–14 Porson, σύνηθες ἐγένετο κύκλωι περιπορευομένους τοὺς ἀθλητὰς ἐπαγείρειν καὶ λαμβάνειν τὰ διδόμενα. ὅθεν Σιμωνίδης περὶ Ἀστύλου φησὶν οὕτως·, "it was the custom for the athletes to go around in a circle exhorting and taking what was offered: from which Simonides speaks thus about Astylus [citation follows].

[38] N. Austin (1967: 3–4) argues for such conventional aporia as part of hymnic "priamelic introduction" (p. 3).

passage. And then the collectors, the περιαγειρόμενοι, here are not the laudandi but the texts that might celebrate them. Scholars working with Theocritus and Simonides correctly observe Theocritus's different use of Χάριτες, but this is part of the reconfiguration of the Simonidean original: the Χάριτες at lines 6 and 108–9 are both the figures of earlier poetry and the later recreations of them, both Graces and texts.

Following his imprecation of his audience and counsel for their better behavior, Theocritus introduces two paradigms, two earlier poets by name, both of whom brought undying fame on those whom their poetry celebrated: Simonides and Homer. The juxtaposition of these two figures juxtaposes the two main memorializing genres of Greek poetry, hexameter and elegy.[39] And the synthesis of these two in the novel short hexameter poem in turn emblematizes three central features of Hellenistic poetics. These are: assimilation of a variety of poetic models, assimilation of a variety of earlier poetic genres into different poetic forms, and emulation of earlier poets at once direct and selective. And here the later poet, the emulator of the earlier, comes first (Theocr. *Id*. 16.34–47):

πολλοὶ ἐν Ἀντιόχοιο δόμοις καὶ ἄνακτος Ἀλεύα
ἁρμαλιὴν ἔμμηνον ἐμετρήσαντο πενέσται·
πολλοὶ δὲ Σκοπάδαισιν ἐλαυνόμενοι ποτὶ σακούς
μόσχοι σὺν κεραῆσιν ἐμυκήσαντο βόεσσι·
μυρία δ' ἄμ πεδίον Κραννώνιον ἐνδιάασκον
ποιμένες ἔκκριτα μῆλα φιλοξείνοισι Κρεώνιδαις·
ἀλλ' οὔ σφιν τῶν ἦδος, ἐπεὶ γλυκὺν ἐξεκένωσαν
θυμὸν ἐς εὐρεῖαν σχεδίαν στυγνοῖο γέροντος,
ἄμναστοι δὲ τὰ πολλὰ καὶ ὄλβια τῆνα λιπόντες
δειλοῖς ἐν νεκύεσσι μακροὺς αἰῶνας ἔκειντο,
εἰ μὴ θεῖος ἀοιδὸς ὁ Κήιος αἰόλα φωνέων
βάρβιτον ἐς πολύχορδον ἐν ἀνδράσι θῆκ' ὀνομαστοὺς
ὁπλοτέροις. τιμᾶς δὲ καὶ ὠκέες ἔλλαχον ἵπποι
οἵ σφισιν ἐξ ἱερῶν στεφανηφόροι ἦλθον ἀγώνων.

Many serfs measured their monthly ration in the homes of Antiochus and of Lord Aleuas. And many calves driven to the folds of the Scopadae bellowed with the horned oxen. The shepherds of the hospitable Creonidae drove countless choice sheep up through the Crannonian plain. But of these they had no joy once they emptied out their spirit into the broad boat of the hateful old man. They would have lain long eras among wretched corpses, mostly unremembered and leaving behind those riches, had not a divine singer, the Cean, voicing varied sounds on his many-chorded lyre made them famous among later men. And even their swift horses had a share of glory, who had come garlanded from the holy contests.

[39] For this last observation I thank M. Fantuzzi.

Our modern reading of this passage is necessarily one that reads through a glass, darkly: we remember how little of Simonides' poetry survives, and that our passage no doubt evokes a multiplicity of lost figures and lost texts. And indeed we are presented with an irony similar to what Callimachus's *Tomb of Simonides* provides. The fame that Simonides' song bestows is itself lost, available now only through its recollection in a later poem, by a later poet, Theocritus. For Theocritus's audience, however, the situation was different. Not only did Simonides' poems exist, but they existed much more concretely than in any previous time, because his texts were likely now collected in a poetic book. So Theocritus here for his audience (and similarly Callimachus for his) structures the memory of Simonides' poems by presenting the several topics of his memorializing poetry in the full range that this new edition of Simonides' poems had come to provide to Simonides.

Yet despite the loss of models, there are several outstanding features in this delineation of Simonidean poetry and Simonides the poet. The dark character of lines 40–43 finds a thematic correspondence in several of the fragments attributed to Simonides' *thrēnoi*. The lines of this Simonidean passage are clearly composed in part in Simonidean terms. The Scopadae, most familiar to us perhaps through the episode that Callimachus's poem recalls, are here recalled in terms both of the distant past and of the bucolic landscape. This confluence thereby subtly blends the two poets, Simonides and Theocritus, and their respective materials. The characterization of the poet Simonides himself at lines 44–46 is particularly arresting. He is θεῖος, divine, a term that at once calls attention to the sacrality of his profession and to his position as figure of the cultural past.[40] Theocritus's verses capture Simonides' singing: αἰόλα φωνέων |

[40] Δεινός is preserved in a line cited by Hermogenes, *Περὶ ἰδεῶν* 2.9, in the second century CE. Syrianus, in commenting on Hermogenes (1.85 R), notes ἐν τοῖς νῦν φερομένοις Θεοκριτείοις εἰ μὴ θεῖος ἀοιδὸς γέγραπται, "in current editions of Theocritus unless θεῖος ἀοιδός is written." (See further Gow 1952: II 315.) Wilamowitz (1906), Legrand (1925), and Gallovotti (1946) believe this means that θεῖος entered the mss. as a corruption of δεινός subsequent to the time of Hermogenes. Gow (ibid.) suggests that this might rather mean that Syrianus had seen only texts with θεῖος. For δεῖνος some use as support the content of Callim. fr. 64, with its preference of brain over brawn, but arguably ἱερός there (line 9) could lend support to the reading θεῖος here as well; see Massimilla (2006: 43), who notes Pl. *Rep*. 331e5–6, Σιμωνίδῃ γε οὐ ῥᾴδιον ἀπιστεῖν—σοφὸς γὰρ καὶ θεῖος ἀνήρ, and 335e7–9, where Simonides is classed among the σοφῶν τε καὶ μακαρίων ἀνδρῶν. Hunter (1996: 107 n. 90) observes that θεῖος ἀοιδὸς ὁ Κήιος with a slight smile would recall the expected epithet of Homer, which Theocritus himself uses at *Id*. 22.218, θεῖος ἀοιδὸς ὁ Χῖος: cf. Ar. *Frogs* 1034. In this passage of *Id*. 16 that so consciously juxtaposes Simonides and Homer, this evocation would be especially effective. Hunter (ibid.) also cites Hor. 4.9.28, "carent quia vate sacro," which, given the close intertextual relationship of Horace 4.8 and 4.9 with Theocritus *Id*. 16 and 17 (see below), may well be quite significant (although see Hunter's caveat on Hor. 4.8.26–27, "potentium | vatum").

Socrates' appellation of Simonides (Pl. *Rep*. 331e) as σοφὸς καὶ θεῖος ἀνήρ may well be worth taking into consideration here, as also the Hellenistic use of θεῖος of Archaic poetry elsewhere. Cf., e.g., Posidippus AB 51.6, κολλάσθω Σα[πφῶι' ἄισμ]ατα, θεῖα μέλη, "be joined Sa[ppho's] odes, divine songs."

βάρβιτον ἐς πολύχορδον ("voicing varied sounds on his many-chorded lyre") may well be a self-description of the earlier poet. What is particularly important for our discussion is the inscription of this portrayal into Theocritus's lines: Theocritus encompasses the earlier poet's singing, just as Theocritus's hexameter lines encompass Simonides' poetic genres. Indeed the seemingly abrupt addition of lines 46–47, the gesture toward Simonides' epinicians, may have exactly this purpose. Theocritus's portrayal of the poet Simonides may well on one level be a reading, even a catalogue, of the earlier poet's composition in a variety of genres. In other words the elements of *thrēnoi*, apparent lavish musical composition in lines 44–45, and epinician at 46–47 may be meant to configure something of the earlier poet's *polyeideia*—and all encapsulated in Theocritean hexameter, one metrical form now encompassing recollections of multiple types of lyric composition.

F. Griffiths suggested in his 1979 study of *Idyll* 16 that line 46, ὁπλοτέροις, might well be a play on Pindar's use of ὁπλότερος, which then becomes multivalent.[41] Pindar's ὁπλότεροι ("men of later generation"), as at *Pythian* 6.41, comes in turn to include a later poet and his future audiences. The point is equally valid with Simonides. Indeed the epithet may rather be one of Simonidean recall. For Simonides appears to use this term in the longest fragment of the new Plataea elegy in a similar context, as A. Barchiesi has observed.[42] At lines 17–18 of this fragment (fr. 11 W), Simonides ascribes to Homer the act of making the "the swift-fated race of demigods famous for later men":

–⏑⏑–]θείην καὶ ἐπώνυμον ὁ̣π̣[λοτέρ]οισιν
–⏑⏑ήμ]ι̣θέων ὠκυμόρον γενεή̣[ν.

Simonides' configuration of Homer is then itself recast in Theocritus's configuration of Simonides, and the poetic models Theocritus juxtaposes are, of course, Simonides and Homer. The later poet's celebration of an earlier one preserves this earlier poet in turn for later audiences, with, as I noted before, the irony for the modern reader that the later poet Simonides is now largely lost. Callimachus's fragmentary poem preserves a destroyed text. Theocritus's *Idyll* preserves a singer, and song, that has for us largely perished.

Following his evocation of past poets of praise, Simonides and Homer, Theocritus moves in the following passage to his own celebration of Hiero II. The transition is delayed. Several movements also appear to evoke Simonidean recall. Several scholars have seen the larger movement of this poem—from recollection, of past poetry and past praise poets, to celebration of a contemporary

Another possible implication of θεῖος here is that Simonides is so called because he belonged to a golden heroic age of patronage poetry, which could present its laudandi with the immortality bestowed on them through κλέος. I thank one of the anonymous press readers for this suggestion.

[41] Pind. *Pyth*. 6.41; used as superlative at *Isth*. 6.6, 8.20.

[42] Barchiesi 1996: 26; see also Aloni 2001: 87.

figure (Hiero II)—as modeled on Simonides' Plataea elegy.[43] Let us look here more closely at some of the moments in this transition that appear to evoke the model of Simonides' Plataea elegy, which is already recalled for the reader at lines 44–46 (Theocr. *Id*. 16.58–67):

> Ἐκ Μοισᾶν ἀγαθὸν κλέος ἔρχεται ἀνθρώποισι,
> χρήματα δὲ ζώοντες ἀμαλδύνουσι θανόντων.
> ἀλλ' ἶσος γὰρ ὁ μόχθος ἐπ' ᾰ̣όνι κύματα μετρεῖν
> ὅσσ' ἄνεμος χέρσονδε μετὰ γλαυκᾶς ἁλὸς ὠθεῖ,
> ἢ ὕδατι νίζειν θολερὰν διαειδέι πλίνθον,
> καὶ φιλοκερδείᾳ βεβλαμμένον ἄνδρα παρελθεῖν.
> χαιρέτω ὅστις τοῖος, ἀνήριθμος δέ οἱ εἴη
> ἄργυρος, αἰεὶ δὲ πλεόνων ἔχοι ἵμερος αὐτόν·
> αὐτὰρ ἐγὼ τιμήν τε καὶ ἀνθρώπων φιλότητα
> πολλῶν ἡμιόνων τε καὶ ἵππων πρόσθεν ἑλοίμαν.
>
> From the Muses comes good fame for men, but the living consume the possessions of the dead. Yet measuring the waves upon the beach, as many as the wind with the gray sea drives landward, or cleaning a clay brick in clear water is as fruitless a task as persuading a man ruined by greed. Farewell to such as he, and may without limit be his silver, and may the lust for more ever hold him. But I would choose honor and the love of men before many mules and horses.

Lines 58–59 repeat the motif that runs throughout the poem, the juxtaposition of past and present, divine song and human profligacy. Line 58 appears further to evoke on one level the same sense of poetic fame—κλέος—with which Simonides encapsulates Homer at fragment 11.15–16 W, οἵσιν ἐπ' ἀθά]ᾰ̣τον κέχυται κλέος ἀᾰ̣[δρὸς] ἔκητι | ὅς παρ' ἰοπ]λοκάμων δέξατο Πιερίδ[ων ("upon whom [imm]ortal fame was poured because of that man, [who] received from the [violet-]tressed Pierian Muses"). The echo of Simonides becomes the more pronounced at line 66, αὐτὰρ ἐγώ, and Theocritus's turn to his own time and his own laudandus. The comparison of this figure with the heroic figures of the past, Achilles and Ajax (lines 74–75), casts Hiero's battle with the Carthaginians in a tradition of East-West conflicts that includes Simonides' heroizing of the Greek troops at Plataea in Homeric terms. And so Theocritus engages with Simonides' Plataea elegy in a twofold manner: through the specific evocation of the poet Simonides and the poem, and through the use of its structure as model for his own juxtaposition of past and present.

Several of the surviving Simonidean anecdotes are concerned with patronage, specifically with poetic composition insufficiently rewarded.[44] I close my

[43] Parsons 2001: 57; Rutherford 2001: 45.

[44] The association of Simonides with αἰσχροκέρδεια has an important witness in Callim. fr. 222, οὐ γὰρ ἐργάτιν τρέφω | τὴν Μοῦσαν, ὡς ὁ Κεῖος Ὑλίχου νέπους, "for I do not raise a prostitute Muse

remarks on *Idyll* 16 by citing another famous anecdote, best known in the citation from Aristotle's *Rhetoric* 1405^{b}23 (*PMG* 515):

> καὶ ὁ Σιμωνίδης ὅτε μὲν ἐδίδου μισθὸν ὀλίγον αὐτῶι ὁ νικήσας τοῖς ὀρεῦσιν οὐκ ἤθελε ποιεῖν ὡς δυσχεραίνων εἰς ἡμιόνους ποιεῖν, ἐπεὶ δ' ἱκανὸν ἔδωκεν ἐποίησε·
>
> χαίρετ' ἀελλοπόδων θύγατρες ἵππων
>
> καίτοι καὶ τῶν ὄνων θυγατέρες ἦσαν.
>
> And Simonides, when the victor in the mule race tried to give him a small fee, refused to compose a poem, with the excuse that he was vexed at the idea of writing in honor of mules, but when the victor gave him an adequate fee, he wrote, "Hail, daughters of storm-footed horses," although they were daughters of asses also.

Reading the text of Theocritus against that of Simonides is in part to engage in a kind of viewing pentimento, an attempt to see an original through later reception and recreation, and in part an attempt to discern Theocritus's recollection of an earlier poetry and earlier poet. Even in the extant fragments of Simonides we encounter many of the features of his Hellenistic emulators: in the case of *Idyll* 16 in particular the problematics of artistic patronage and poetic praise. The anecdotal tradition already presents Simonides as an appropriate model for the poetic voice of *Idyll* 16, as this voice urges his audience to more generous benevolence, especially to poets (lines 27–30):

> μηδὲ ξεινοδόκον κακὸν ἔμμεναι ἀλλὰ τραπέζῃ
> μειλίξαντ' ἀποπέμψαι ἐπὴν ἐθέλωντι νέεσθαι,
> Μοισάων δὲ μάλιστα τίειν ἱεροὺς ὑποφήτας
> ὄφρα καὶ εἰν Ἀίδαο κεκρυμμένος ἐσθλὸς ἀκούσῃς,
>
> Nor be a bad host, but send away the one who has had enjoyment at your table when he wants to go, and especially honor the Muses' holy prophets that you may be well heard of when concealed in the house of Hades.

And the specific figure who first in the poem's subsequent lines represents the general category of the "Muses' holy prophets" is Simonides, the Cean, whom Theocritus depicts in exactly this relationship of honor and commemoration.

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as did the Cean son of Hylichus." The fragment, a sardonic variation on the conventional image of the Muse nourishing the poet (cf. Theocr. *Id.* 7.80–82), is cited in a scholion to Pindar, *Isthmian* 2.9, on poets who sell themselves for gain—it is likely that Callimachus is the source of the suggestion that Pindar meant Simonides here.

5.3. Theocritus and Simonides, Part 2: *Idyll* 17

Theocritus, *Idyll* 17, *The Encomium to Ptolemy*, has in the past found little favor with some readers of the *Idylls*, and has garnered a fair amount of negative criticism.[45] More recently a new interest in Ptolemaic court poetry has called for a reevaluation of the poem at several levels. The poem's confluence of hymnic and encomiastic features, its adaptation of pharaonic imagery, its significance as an artistic representation of Ptolemaic self-imaging have awakened a new interest in the work from a variety of scholarly angles.[46] For an inquiry into Simonides' presence in Theocritus, *Idyll* 17 is especially revealing in its complex parallelism with *Idyll* 16 and its points of contact with several surviving Simonidean fragments, particularly the longest of the new Plataea elegy (fr. 11 W).

Idylls 16 and 17 are encomiastic, open with carefully structured prooimia, and set a contemporary laudandus in the light of the heroic past. Both poems contain rather elaborate numerical imagery and conclude with variations of gnomic endings. Both comment on the relationship of poet and patron, and, albeit in different ways, foreground poetic composition and poetic vocation. The two poems show a parallelism of language and imagery. The question of how, and whether, they are to be understood as a pair is a relevant one, to which I shall return at the end of this discussion. First, however, I begin with an inquiry into the presence of Simonides in *Idyll* 17 and an attempt to answer the question, Is the explicit poet-model of *Idyll* 16 present, though in a different way, in *Idyll* 17?

In their initial work on the fragments of Simonides' Plataea elegy, I. Rutherford and M. Fantuzzi suggested that this poem is an important intertext for *Idyll* 17. My discussion, much indebted to their work, begins with a review of the parallel features of the two poems and carries the delineation of this intertextual relationship further. The structure of the Plataea elegy, even in its fragmentary state, is commonly agreed to be at least tripartite.[47] The poem begins with a hymnic prooimion celebrating Achilles and the East-West conflict of the heroic past. Lines 20–24 transition to a present narrative by establishing an equivalence of present poet (Simonides) with past poet (Homer), and of the Persian and Trojan Wars, and so confer on the present subjects of song the fame, κλέος (line 15), of the earlier heroes. This transition is of key importance for an appreciation of Simonides' poem, and for Theocritus's. Here I give

[45] See Gow's comments in his introductory remarks on the poem (Gow 1952: II 325). Hunter's introduction to his study on the genre of *Idyll* 17 (2003: 8–24) is a more cautious and balanced assessment of the poem in terms of the traditions of praise literature.

[46] Especially significant are Weber 1993; Stephens 2003; Hunter 2003.

[47] Rutherford 2001: 38; Obbink 2001: 65–66, 69–73 passim.

lines 15–24 of fragment 11, with the text of Sider's edition (2001: 18) and my own translation:

οἷσιν ἐπ᾽ ἀθά]γατον κέχυται κλέος ἀγ[δρὸς] ἕκητι
ὅς παρ᾽ ἰοπ]λοκάμων δέξατο Πιερίδ[ων
–⏑⏑–]θείην καὶ ἐπώνυμον ὀπ[λοτέρ]οισιν
–⏑⏑ήμ]ι̣θέων ὠκυμόρον γενεή[ν.
ἀλλὰ σὺ μὲ]ν νῦν χαῖρε, θεᾶς ἐρικυ[δέος υἱέ
κούρης εἰν]αλίου Νηρέος· αὐτὰρ ἐγὼ [
κικλήσκω] σ᾽ ἐπίκουρον ἐμοί, π̣[⏑⏑–⏑]ε Μοῦσα,
εἴ περ γ᾽ ἀν]θρώπων̣ εὐχομένω[ν μέλεαι·
ἔντυνο]γ̣ καὶ τόνδ[ε μελ]ί̣φρονα κ[όσμον ἀο]ιδῆς
ἡμετ]έ̣ρης, ἵνα τις [μνή]σ̣ε̣̣τ̣αι ὑ[⏑⏑–

upon whom (imm)ortal fame was poured because of that man (who) received from the (violet-)tressed Pierian Muses (all truth) and made famous for later men the swift-fated race of demigods. (But you) farewell, famed son of the divine (daughter) of Nereus of the sea. But I (call upon) you as my ally, . . . Muse, (if ever you have a care for) men in prayer. And (make) this delightful adornment of (my) song that someone (remember) . . .

Let us follow this complex transitional movement step by step. The poet begins by placing Homer in several categories.[48] He is the immediate cause of undying fame (ἀθά]γατον κλέος) for the leaders of the heroic past (line 14, ἀγέμαχοι Δαναοί[), for he received a faculty (line 17, –⏑⏑–]θείην) from the violet-tressed Pierians that enabled him to render the swift-fated race of demigods famous for later generations.[49] From the perspective of singer and audience a number of aspects of this demarcation are significant. The perfect-tense form κέχυται signals an action finished for later generations, ὀπ[λοτέρ]οισιν (line 17), a group that includes the present poet and his audience. The poet of the heroic

[48] Homer is significantly not named here, though he appears to be elsewhere in the poem (e.g., fr. 20.14, γλώσσης ἔκφυγ᾽ Ὁμηρ[). Cf., however, Parsons's (1992: 23, 44) conjectured reading of this line, ῥῆμα δὲ πᾶν] γλώσσης ἔκφυγ᾽ ὃ μὴ γ[όμιμον.

[49] M. L. West (1993) conjectures (16) πᾶσαν ἀλη]θείην and (17) ποίησ᾽. The first of these informs the way that the audience understands line 23, ἔντυνο]γ̣, as well as the larger issue of the poet's truth-telling capacity, given the act of memorialization that he embarks upon here. Indeed, given the amount of parallelism in the representations of earlier and modern poet and song, we might expect the same or similar-sensed verbal construction at the beginning of lines 18 and 23. (For the use of ἐντύνω, cf., e.g., *Od*. 12.183, λιγυρὴν δ᾽ ἔντυνον ἀοιδήν; *Hom. Hymn* 6.20 (to Aphrodite), ἐμὴν δ᾽ ἔντυνον ἀοιδήν.) This parallelism includes line 28 (assuming readings are correct), καὶ κλέος ἀ]γθρῴπ̣ων̣ [ἔσσετ]α̣ι ἀθάνατο‹ν›, which repeats the concept and, in chiastic order, the language of line 15, οἷσιν ἐπ᾽ ἀθά]γατον κέχυται κλέος ἀγ[δρὸς] ἕκητι. Stehle (2001: 116) observes the respective hexameter (Homeric) and pentameter (Simonidean) configurations of the two lines. Parallel too is the representation of both celebrated figures at lines 19–20 and 34–35 as sons, with a deliberate play with (19) θεᾶς and (33) θείοιο. There is a similar sound play in lines 14, ἀγέμαχοι, and 32, ἡγεμόνες.

past received his gifts from violet-tressed Pierians, his Muses, depicted with both traditional epithet and localization. The paradoxically characterized object of his art, the ἡμ]ι̣θέων ὠκυμόρον γενεή̣[ν, likewise a collective plural, is also a feature of an epic and past world.[50]

Simonides transitions to his own time, and his own theme, through a double apostrophe to Achilles and to his Muse. This forms a chiastic structure with the preceding lines: Pierians (plural Muses), *hēmitheoi*, Achilles (single *hēmitheos*), single Muse.[51] The farewell to Achilles carefully delineates his stature as heroic figure and *hēmitheos*. The genealogy of lines 19–20, θεᾶς ἐρικυ[δέος υἱέ | κούρης εἰν]αλίου Νηρέος, has an effect at once of epic valorization and distancing.[52] The poet's call upon his own Muse, on his own terms,[53] brings about the transitions from the world of demigods to the world of men, from a Homeric to a Simonidean theme. With the adversative αὐτὰρ ἐγώ Simonides deploys the standard transitional formula from *paroimion* to *nomos*, to segue from an earlier memorializing poetic tradition to the one that he is himself instantiating. Simonides' song will be the source of immortal fame (28) for the heroic figures of the

[50] Ὠκύμορος is a Homeric epithet of Achilles, here transferred to the race of which he is the paradigm, both for Homer and for Simonides. On Simonides' use of Homeric language in these lines, see Rutherford 2001: 44.

[51] Muse as metaphor for the poet's own *ingenium*? At *Aetia* 1.2 Callimachus, in a similar setting of poetic self-definition, characterizes his opponents as those οἳ Μούσης οὐκ ἐγένοντο φίλοι, "who are not friends of the [my?] Muse." This line is widely mistranslated. Yet Callimachus elsewhere consciously employs the metaphor, so characteristic of Roman elegy, of Muse as his own poetry: cf. *Aet*. fr. 75, ἔνθεν ὁ π̣α[ι]δ̣ός | μῦθος ἐς ἡμετέρην ἔδραμε Καλλιόπην, "from there the boy's tale ran to my Calliope."

[52] Cf. the similar emphasis on genealogy at fr. 10 W:

.]υχν[
. . . . . (.) πατὴ]ρ προπάτω[ρ τε
. . . . . (.)] . θ̣ῳνην σ̣[
. . . . . μελε]τ̣ῶν ὑπὲρ ἡμ[ετέρων
κούρης εἰν]αλίης ἀγλαόφη̣[με πάϊ 5
. . . . . (.)ηισ̣ι[

If the restoration at line 5 is correct, we might assume a first address to Achilles in language very similar to the poet's farewell at lines 19–20, a sort of framing device (sim. to some of those of *Id*. 17).

The epithet εἰνάλιος is not used of Thetis in the *Iliad*, but it is used of Aphrodite in two Homeric hymns, *Hom. Hymn* 6 (to Aphrodite) 2–3, ἣ πάσης Κύπρου κρήδεμνα λέλοχεν | εἰναλίης, and *Hom. Hymn* 10 (to Aphrodite) 4–5, χαῖρε θεὰ Σαλαμῖνος ἐυκτιμένης μεδέουσα | εἰναλίης τε Κύπρου. Simonides' appropriation of the epithet to Thetis and to her father, Nereus, at fr. 11.20, κούρης εἰν]αλίου Νηρέος, assuming the reading of fr. 10.5 to be correct, has a twofold effect. In a poem that is in part a hymn to a Homeric hero, the appropriation of the divine epithet of Aphrodite to his mother, Thetis, divine but not Aphrodite, is an elevating stratagem. At the same time the evocation of Aphrodite may be deliberate. The epithet, in other words, evokes both the figure and her status. The occurrence of the epithet in both fragments at the caesura is revealing, as is the reconfiguration of elements in the two passages.

[53] Aloni 2001: 85; Stehle 2001: 108–10.

battle of Plataea, as Homer's was for the earlier Trojan War. The emphasis on memory at lines 24 (assuming the reading [μνή]σ̣ε̣τ̣α̣ι) and 27, οὐδ' ἀρε]τ̣ῆς ἐλάθ[οντο, corresponds to the remembered (line 17, ἐπώνυμον) aspect of Homeric κλέος.[54] The religious gestures of lines 19 (hymnic coda χαῖρε) and 22 (εὐχομένω[ν) also play a significant role in this transition. The former highlights Achilles' now divine status; the latter, the stance of poet (and audience) to the nature of the material his song will now celebrate. The divine character of the earlier part of the song is thus transferred upon the later.

Yet an important effect of Simonides' poem that evolves from this transition is the portrayal of the warriors of Plataea not only in heroic terms (in epithet, language, etc.) but specifically in Homeric ones. By, for example, importing the figures of Menelaus and the Tyndarids (assuming the reading Τυνδαρίδα]ις in line 31) into his poetic narrative of the battle of Plataea, Simonides maintains the figure of Homer before his audience as one of poetic identity and disassociation. His is at once a poem of emulation and of artistic self-definition.

The points of convergence between the two works, the fragments of Simonides' poem on the battle of Plataea and Theocritus *Idyll* 17, fall into three categories: specific verbal parallels, structural and thematic similarities, and parallel constructions of poetic stance. Let us consider these separately and then give some thought to their cumulative effect.

In his 2001 study of the two poems M. Fantuzzi draws attention to the apparent simile comparing Achilles' death to a felled tree that West has placed at the opening of fragment 11 and the enigmatic figure of the woodcutter at *Idyll* 17.9–10.[55] The lines from Simonides are very fragmentary, and therefore open to more than one interpretation:

> π̣α̣ι̣[. .]σ̣.[
> ἢ πίτυν ἐν βήσ[σαις
> ὑλοτόμοι τάμ[νωσι
> πολλὸν δ' †ἤρῶσ[

or pine in the glades (. . .) woodcutters cut (. . .) much [

These fragmentary lines are widely, though not unanimously, assumed to portray the death of Achilles, the addressee of the poet's apostrophe at lines 19–20.[56] The comparison of an epic hero's death to a felled tree is characteristi-

[54] Noteworthy also here is line 35, ἐπικλέα ἐργα Κορίν[θ]ου, which (paronomastically) already assumes κλέος conferred on these subjects of Simonides' song. The epithet is not a common one.

[55] Fantuzzi 2001a: 237–38 and 238 n. 18. *P.Oxy.* 2327 fr. 5 contains the remnant of the apparent simile; West (*IEG*) places this fragment at the beginning of fr. 11.

[56] Other interpretations include especially Parsons 1992 and Lloyd-Jones 1994. This would not completely invalidate the immediate effect of the simile in Theocritus. Barchiesi's (2001) analysis of this fragment and of Hor. *Odes* 4.6.9–12 lends strong support to reading Achilles' death in the opening lines of fr. 11.

cally Homeric;[57] hence it vividly evokes the Homeric background of this part of the poem. Of particular interest to us, however, are the ὑλοτόμοι ("woodcutters"). The substantive occurs only once in Homer, at *Iliad* 23.123, in the collection of wood for Patroclus's funeral pyre, πάντες δ' ὑλοτόμοι φιτροὺς φέρον ("and all woodcutters bore logs"). In the context of the Simonides text the allusion foregrounds the association of the two deaths, Patroclus's and Achilles' (the death of Patroclus had traditionally been considered a prerequisite for Achilles' death and subsequent glory),[58] and of the two poetic narratives of heroic death, Homer's and Simonides'. In the same Homeric passage, at *Iliad* 23.114, we find ὑλοτόμος as an adjective; this does not become a frequent term of poetic language, being attested otherwise only four times (Hes. *Op*. 807, *S. El*. 98, Ap. Rh. *Arg*. 4.1684, *Hom. Hymn* 2 [to Demeter] 229, in the last instance with a different meaning). Its presence here in the Simonides fragment signals a very clear reference to Homer's text. Already in Simonides the ὑλοτόμοι have intertextual value. Hence the appearance of the term in Theocritus is all the more significant; the passage in which it appears, the poet's declaration of intent, all the more illuminating (Theocr. *Id*. 17.1–12):

Ἐκ Διὸς ἀρχώμεσθα καὶ ἐς Δία λήγετε Μοῖσαι,
ἀθανάτων τὸν ἄριστον, ἐπὴν †ἀείδωμεν ἀοιδαῖς·
ἀνδρῶν δ' αὖ Πτολεμαῖος ἐνὶ πρώτοισι λεγέσθω
καὶ πύματος καὶ μέσσος· ὃ γὰρ προφερέστατος ἀνδρῶν.
ἥρωες, τοὶ πρόσθεν ἀφ' ἡμιθέων ἐγένοντο,
ῥέξαντες καλὰ ἔργα σοφῶν ἐκύρησαν ἀοιδῶν·
αὐτὰρ ἐγὼ Πτολεμαῖον ἐπιστάμενος καλὰ εἰπεῖν
ὑμνήσαιμ'· ὕμνοι δὲ καὶ ἀθανάτων γέρας αὐτῶν.
Ἴδαν ἐς πολύδενδρον ἀνὴρ ὑλατόμος ἐλθών
παπταίνει, παρεόντος ἄδην, πόθεν ἄρξεται ἔργου.
τί πρῶτον καταλέξω; ἐπεὶ πάρα μυρία εἰπεῖν
οἷσι θεοὶ τὸν ἄριστον ἐτίμησαν βασιλήων.

From Zeus let us begin, and with Zeus, Muses, cease, best of immortals, when (we sing) with our songs. But of men let Ptolemy be spoken of among the first and last and in the midst. For he is by far the best of men. Heroes, who earlier were descended from demigods, on doing glorious deeds found wise singers. But I, who know how to speak praise, would hymn Ptolemy. Indeed

[57] Cf. *Il*. 13.389–92 = 16.482–84. See Barchiesi 2001: 257–58. Apollonius is recalling this passage in his description of the death of Talus at *Arg*. 4.1682–88: ἀλλ' ὥς τίς τ' ὄρεσσι πελωρίη ὑψόθι πεύκη, | τήν τε θοοῖς πελέκεσσιν ἔθ' ἡμιπλῆγα λιπόντες | ὑλοτόμοι δρυμοῖο κατήλυθον, ἡ δ' ὑπὸ νυκτί | ῥιπῇσιν μὲν πρῶτα τινάσσεται, ὕστερον αὖτε | πρυμνόθεν ἐξαγεῖσα κατήριπεν· ὣς ὅ γε ποσσίν | ἀκαμάτοις τείως μὲν ἐπισταδὸν ᾐωρεῖτο, | ὕστερον αὖτ' ἀμενηνὸς ἀπείρονι κάππεσε δούπῳ.

[58] On line 6, Πατρ[όκλου σᾳ[, see Rutherford 2001: 43.

> hymns are the honor of the immortals themselves. A man, a woodcutter, on coming to Ida of many trees looks around, for there is so much, whence will he begin his work. What shall I mention first? Since many are the things to tell of with which the gods have honored the best of kings.

Studies of the opening lines of *Idyll* 17 have highlighted a number of poetic debts in this complex strategy of praise, but, oddly, have passed over the metaphor of lines 9–10 with relatively little comment. And yet the image is on a first reading somewhat perplexing, as is the alignment of woodsman and poet, carefully drawn in the themes of abundance and beginning at lines 10–11. The poem's text underscores this alignment in the change from first person to third person at line 9 and back to first person at line 11. Without a comparative particle or other introduction, the juxtaposition of the woodsman of lines 8–9 with the poetic first person of line 8, ὑμνήσαιμι, and line 11, καταλέξω, is especially vivid. The verbal allusion to *Iliad* 23.123 in ἀνὴρ ὑλατόμος is clear. The phrase "many-treed Ida" (Ἴδαν . . . πολύδενδρον) recalls "many-springed Ida" (πολυπίδακος Ἴδης) of the Homeric passage (*Il.* 23.117), with the substitution of an epithet functional to an ὑλατόμος.[59] Παπταίνει (line 10), a particularly Homeric term, does not appear elsewhere in Theocritus, nor either in Callimachus.[60] The verb is itself an elegant way of signaling Homeric allusion. While Gow is right at one level to suggest that Theocritus has the Homeric passage in mind here,[61] his argument is tempered through Simonides' adaptation of this passage. Two further points of recall, as well as lines of contextual similarity, enhance this adaptation. Fantuzzi has posited a strong argument for Theocritus's recall of Simonides' fragment 11.18, ἡμ]ιθέων ὠκύμορον γενεή[ν, in the unusual phrasing of *Idyll* 17.5,[62] ἥρωες, τοὶ πρόσθεν ἀφ' ἡμιθέων ἐγένοντο ("heroes, who were earlier descended of demigods").

Fantuzzi further suggests that the transitional phrase αὐτὰρ ἐγώ at *Idyll* 17.7 reflects Simonides' use of this hymnic device in his own transitional strategy.[63] Read in light of this double intertext, the opening lines of *Idyll* 17 and, particularly, the metaphor of the woodsman on Mount Ida come to have a more sustained programmatic sense. The metaphor may be read metapoetically, as one that catalogues not only the abundance of Ptolemy's noteworthy honors and deeds but also the singer's artistic models. Theocritus juxtaposes his own song

[59] It may be worth comparing here also Simonides fr. 15.1 W, μέσσοις δ' οἵ τ' Ἐφύρην πολυπίδακα ναιετάοντες.

[60] Apollonius uses the verb with some frequency.

[61] Gow 1952: II 328.

[62] Fantuzzi 2001a: 235. In another fragment, 523.2 *PMG*, Simonides has a more conventional phrasing: θεῶν δ' ἐξ ἀνάκτων ἐγένοντ' υἷες ἡμίθεοι, "demigods, sons of the lord gods." The focus on generation here too is noteworthy.

[63] Fantuzzi 2001a: 239. Aristophanes in the *Frogs* has Aeschylus use the term ἡμίθεοι of figures of the past in a passage (1058–62) that, while generically different, has some revealing parallels in its contrast of past versus present and of poetic voices.

with those of earlier singers (line 6), singers of past deeds, in imitation and recollection of Simonides' own act of juxtaposition. He does so at the beginning of his own song that will, as did Simonides', celebrate contemporary men in heroic terms. *Idyll* 17 is also focused on the death rituals and memorialization of Ptolemy II's father and mother—ἡμίθεοι surely points to that new mythology as well, the instantiation of cults for the new Greek rulers of Egypt.[64]

Simonides' Plataea elegy may find a second verbal resonance in Theocritus 17 in the juxtaposition of the Persians and Heracles at fragment 13.9–10 W:

καὶ Περσῶν, Δώρου δ[ὲ
παισὶ καὶ Ἡρακλέ̣ο̣ς[

and of Persians, and to [*or*: for] the sons (. . .) of Dorus and Heracles (. . .)

and *Idyll* 17.19–20:

ἑδριάει, Πέρσαισι βαρὺς θεὸς αἰολομίτρας.
ἀντία δ' Ἡρακλῆος ἕδρα κενταυροφόνοιο.

[Alexander] sits, god with brilliant turban, heavy for the Persians, and opposite the seat of centaur-slaying Heracles.

The juxtaposition of Persians and Heracles is in itself perhaps seemingly only coincidental, although the appearance of Ἡρακλέος and Ἡρακλῆος in the same metrical *sedes* makes it more suggestive.[65] The particular use of the heroic in the two poems is, however, also relevant here. Heracles is a legitimizing figure of generation in both texts.[66] The juxtaposition in Theocritus recalls the Simonidean passage obliquely. While in Theocritus's poem Persians and Heracles function disparately in their particular periods and their particular contexts (the portrayals of Alexander and Heracles, respectively), the juxtaposition in consecutive lines echoes the earlier passage and the earlier Hellenic-Persian conflict.

There are two more reasons for considering the Plataea elegy an intertext for *Idyll* 17. One is the presence of Achilles in the two works: not only his presence, but the way in which this presence is figured, specifically as offspring of a divinity. In his hymnic address (lines 19–20), ἀλλὰ σὺ μὲ]ν νῦν χαῖρε, θεᾶς ἐρικυ[δέος υἱέ | κούρης εἰν]αλίου Νηρέος ("[but you] farewell, famed son of the divine [daughter] of Nereus of the sea"),[67] Simonides gives a strongly heroic cast to Achilles, characterizing him as born from one divine parent, at the moment

[64] I am grateful to S. A. Stephens for pointing this out to me.

[65] Theocritus may even be intending a correction of the Homeric prosody of a syllable closed by a liquid. Further on Ἡρακλέος and Ἡρακλῆος in Hellenistic poetry, see Fantuzzi 2001b: 187.

[66] On the possible interpretations especially of lines 11–12, οἳ] δ' ἐπεὶ ἐς πεδίον [| εἰ]σωποὶ δ' ἔφ[α]νεγ[, see Rutherford 2001: 47.

[67] On this characterization, see esp. Rutherford 2001: 44 n. 57.

when he transitions to his own narrative of song.[68] Theocritus does the same at *Idyll* 17.55–57:

> ἀλλὰ Θέτις βαθύκολπος ἀκοντιστὰν Ἀχιλῆα
> Αἰακίδᾳ Πηλῆι· σὲ δ', αἰχμητὰ Πτολεμαῖε,
> αἰχμητᾷ Πτολεμαίῳ ἀρίζηλος Βερενίκα.
>
> But deep-breasted Thetis, (you bore) the javelin thrower Achilles to Peleus descendant of Aeacus. But you, spearman Ptolemy, admired Berenice bore to spearman Ptolemy.

Here the genealogical portrayal pointedly casts Achilles as *hēmitheos*, subject of earlier song (line 5), and serves in the same way as the Simonidean figure as at once an image of identity and disassociation. Fragment 10 of the Plataea elegy provides another parallel image in this regard that is revealing. The second line of this fragment reads ..... (.) πατὴ]ρ προπάτω[ρ τε ("[fathe]r and forefather"). In a comparison of this line with Theocritus's depiction of Heracles' pleasure in his offspring at *Idyll* 17.23 we cannot help being struck by the similar image of genealogy and generation, χαίρων υἱωνῶν περιώσιον υἱωνοῖσιν ("immensely rejoicing in the sons of his sons").

The larger themes of generation and mortality are central to both *Idyll* 17 and to the Simonides fragments.[69] Indeed, they have a conventional place in encomiastic poetry. The specific thematic parallels and their function in the two poems, especially in their cumulative number, is nonetheless compelling.

Whether Simonides fragments 19 and 20 W, which are both concerned with generation and mortality, belong to the Plataea elegy remains an open question. However, we should avoid making overly hasty genre distinctions among the elegiac fragments.[70] Simonides' focus in his adaptation of Homer is the ephemeral nature of human life: the adaptation of Homer is especially compelling if Ὁμηρ[is indeed the correct reading at fragment 20.14.

A second thematic correspondence is the reformatting of the relationship of poet and Muse, a reformatting frequently perceived as typically Hellenistic but one that is clearly already present in fragment 11 of the Plataea elegy. Simonides' apostrophe to his Muse at lines 20–21,

> αὐτὰρ ἐγὼ̣ [
> κικλήσκω] σ' ἐπίκουρον ἐμοί, π̣[⏑⏑–⏑]ε Μοῦσα,
>
> but I [call upon] you as my ally, . . . Muse,

[68] Fr. 10 W, cited above (n. 52), evokes a parallel image of Achilles as offspring. See Rutherford 2001: 43.

[69] Particularly the passing of youth in Simonides frr. 19 and 20 W, and the fading of Priam's seized wealth in *Id*. 17.118–20.

[70] Rutherford 2001: 50: "The sympotic poems from which these come are generally regarded as distinct from the military/historical elegies, and different in character; but these distinctions may be in part bogus, if any of the military/historical elegies were performed at *sumposia*."

has drawn attention for the novelty of the expression.[71] Ἐπίκουρον is a military metaphor,[72] one that Pindar uses in a reversed configuration.[73] This reconfiguration in the Simonides fragment finds parallels in Theocritus, *Idyll* 17, reconfigurations that—while themselves emblematic of a larger reworking of this relationship in Hellenistic poetics—in a poem that finds other points of contact in Simonides' verses, strongly suggest Simonidean influence. The poem's opening line, ἐκ Διὸς ἀρχώμεσθα καὶ ἐς Δία λήγετε Μοῖσαι, is itself a synthetic balance of singer and Muses. The poetic structure up to the caesura is repeated after the caesura with the imperative now directed to the poet's Muses. The poet is effectively their chorus master.[74] Lines 115–16, Μουσάων δ' ὑποφῆται ἀείδοντι Πτολεμαῖον | ἀντ' εὐεργεσίης ("poets, interpreters of the Muses, sing of Ptolemy in return for his benevolence"), repeat the image of a chain of interpretation seen in *Idyll* 16.29, Μοισάων δὲ μάλιστα τίειν ἱεροὺς ὑποφήτας, one of the shared features of these two *Idylls*. In the context of *Idyll* 17 the portrayed equivalence of (mortal) poet and (immortal) Muses heightens the equivalence of the matter of song, Ptolemy and Zeus, part of the larger strategy of recasting the mortal laudandus in immortal terms. This too is the poetic strategy of Simonides' Plataea elegy.

A different kind of correspondence that we find in the two poems is structural, a parallel sequence of portrayed moments. Here a comparison is necessarily tentative, as we can only conjecture the overall structure of the original Simonides. Yet the parallel remains. The Plataea elegy as we have it moves from a hymnic opening that celebrates the now divine Achilles to the celebration of contemporary military victory. It then moves to the material on generation and the ephemeral nature of human life and finally to a symposiastic setting, whether figured as dream or otherworldly scene. Let us consider the structure of *Idyll* 17. Following the preamble, the poem opens with the scene of Ptolemy and Alexander depicted with Heracles among the gods in a symposiastic setting. Alexander, self-proclaimed as ἡμίθεος and later victor of wars against Persia, assumes the role of Achilles in the Plataea elegy. This poem then continues with the celebration cataloguing the deeds of the poet's patron, Ptolemy II. The military aspect of these is given a strongly heroic character, as for example in line 103, ξανθοκόμας Πτολεμαῖος, ἐπιστάμενος δόρυ πάλλειν ("golden-haired Ptolemy, expert at brandishing a spear")—hardly, one would have thought, a particularly accurate portrayal of the Hellenistic king at war, though a pharaonic image of a warrior-king that could be seen on any Egyptian temple. The concluding lines (121–37) have a particularly subtle resonance. Generation

[71] Stehle 2001: 108–10.

[72] Rutherford 2001: 45.

[73] *Ol.* 13.96–97, Μοίσαις γὰρ ἀγλαοθρόνοις ἑκὼν | Ὀλιγαίθιδαισίν τ' ἔβαν ἐπίκουρος.

[74] Similar is the effect at Posidippus *SH* 704.5–8. At *P.Mil.Vogl.* VIII 309 col. XII 20 (78 AB) the poet is chorus master of other singers.

is represented in the scene of one Ptolemaic pair (here Philadelphus and his sister-wife, Arsinoe II) worshipping their now dead parents. I suggest that line 127, μησὶ περιπλομένοισιν ("as the months revolve"), may be meant not only to capture, as Gow proposed, the festal dates of the cult,[75] but indeed to preserve the sense of the passage of time that the phrase usually evokes in epic contexts. The erotic portrayal of lines 128–34 of course moves us, in its comparison with the ἱερὸς γάμος of Zeus and Hera, back to Olympus, to an otherworldly erotic setting.

Why then is the Plataea elegy a poetic model for this particular composition, an encomium that celebrates a single royal figure? Several lines of approach may be fruitful. One takes Simonides into account as, to cite A. Barchiesi, a postwar "immortalizer."[76] A poetic model commemorating a celebrated military victory has self-evident value for a later poem that sets out to celebrate a prince, particularly in terms of his martial exploits. The κλέος of the model is transferred onto the later creation. Simonides' Plataea elegy was a well-known poem, and one that was outstanding for its Panhellenic scope.[77] If, as some scholars have suggested, the poem was both repeatedly performed and circulated in written form, it would have been a well-known text indeed. Its echoes in Theocritus's poetry would have been immediately clear to the Hellenistic poet's audience.[78] The Panhellenic scope of the Plataea elegy also finds a reflection, albeit refracted, in the catalogue of Ptolemaic territorial ambitions at *Idyll* 17.77–94. Indeed the role of catalogues of lands in both poems is revealing. Most significant, however, is the military victory that is the subject of Simonides' poem. As a model, with its evocation of heroic battle spirit, the Plataea elegy inherently confers great poetic military prestige.[79] Read against the Plataea elegy, Theocritus's *Encomium to Ptolemy* takes on a different martial, indeed heroic, character.

A second approach recognizes that Theocritus had in Simonides an earlier treatment of the heroic past and heroic poetry, in contemporary terms. Theocritus, in turn, recreates this act of commemoration and self-definition through his reconfiguration of Simonides. The Plataea elegy was a poem that was widely imitated. Timotheus's recollection of it in his *Persai* is already an important precedent.[80]

Third, Simonides' portrayal of Achilles as divine is reflected not only in Theocritus's use of Achilles as a comparative figure at *Idyll* 17.55–56 but also in his

[75] Gow 1952: II 345.

[76] Barchiesi 1996: 20.

[77] Rutherford 2001: 38; Stehle 2001: 106. On Simonides' lack of local ties, see also Bowra 1961: 341.

[78] On the performance of the Plataea elegy, see Rutherford 2001: 40.

[79] On the role of the hero Achilles in Simonides' poem in conferring battle spirit, see Stehle 2001: 112–13. In effectively casting Ptolemy as a hero, Theocritus artistically effects the same result.

[80] Obbink 2001: 74.

interjection of the divine Ptolemy at the end of the poem. Simonides' hymnic coda (fr. 11.21 W) ἀλλὰ σὺ μὲ]ν νῦν χαῖρε, θεᾶς ἐρικυ]δέος υἱέ ("[but you] rejoice, famed son of the goddess") finds a striking correspondence at *Idyll* 17.135–36, χαῖρε, ἄναξ Πτολεμαῖε· σέθεν δ' ἐγὼ ἴσα καὶ ἄλλων | μνάσομαι ἡμιθέων ("rejoice, Lord Ptolemy; I shall recall similar things of you and of the other gods").[81] The coda is frequently used at the conclusion of Homeric hymns to mark the singer's transition to a different occasion (or material).[82] Several scholars have noted the hymnic form of the opening of the Plataea elegy. Reflecting Homeric hymns, Simonides moves from his celebration of a divinity (here Achilles) to the subject of his subsequent song, Plataea.[83] Theocritus's hymnic coda at *Idyll* 17.135 is yet another feature that suggests Homeric hymn as structural model for Theocritus's poem, especially the structure of Homeric hymn as mediated through Simonides, namely Homeric hymn transformed into encomium.[84]

Simonides is not named in *Idyll* 17. The echoes of his poem are all that are needed to establish his presence. Similarly, Pindar is not named in *Idyll* 16. The recollections of *Pythian* 1 (e.g., in the prayer of *Idyll* 16.82–100, recalling *Pyth.* 1.67–80) are enough to call attention to the poem's premier model. Both Theocritean poems further evoke models that commemorate significant military events: the victories of Hiero I in Pindar's *Pythian* 1 and the battle of Plataea in Simonides' elegy.

Pindar imitated yet not named in *Idyll* 16; Simonides imitated yet not named in *Idyll* 17: these two figures, present yet absent, add a further shared feature to these two poems. There are many ways in which *Idylls* 16 and 17 can be understood as paired. Many critics have evaluated and commented on these. And indeed there are many paired poems in the Theocritean corpus and a variety of ways in which poems may be read as paired: *Idylls* 14 and 15, *Idylls* 13 and 22, and, E. Bowie has convincingly argued, *Idylls* 6 and 7.[85] At what point *Idylls* 16 and 17 came to be sequential in an edited version of Theocritus's poems is relevant here. In the Ambrosian manuscripts they are adjacent, but in the order 17, 16; in the Vatican manuscripts they appear in the order in which Gow places them, 16 preceding 17. We have, however, a witness in Horace's paired *Odes* 4.8 and 4.9. Barchiesi has shown the extensive influence of Theocritus, *Idylls* 16 and 17, on the Horatian pair: Might Horace 4.9.6–7, "Pindarica latent | Ceaeque,"

[81] Χαῖρε usually suggests that the addressee, if once mortal, has attained special status after death. See Rutherford 2001: 42; Boedecker 2001: 157–58.

[82] E.g., *Hymns* 3.545, 4.579, 5.292.

[83] Aloni 2001: 94; Obbink 2001: 69, 75.

[84] Theocritus evokes the structure of Homeric hymns also in *Idyll* 18. This similar feature in *Idylls* 17 and 18 becomes the more interesting, whatever their original order of composition may have been (in the Vatican ms. tradition 17 follows 18), given that they can both be understood as associated with celebrating the royal marriage.

[85] Bowie 1996.

not in part be an oblique reference to the earlier pair's respective models, the sequence Pindar, Simonides of *Idylls* 16 and 17?

5.4. Apollonius and Simonides

The accident of selective survival of Simonides' poetry necessarily obscures some parts of his poetic range while overemphasizing others. In particular, gnomic statements are privileged, especially in indirect transmission (citation, etc.). This may render an overly one-sided perspective of a creative mind that was remarkably varied. The privileging of sententiae and the like in turn affects our reading of Simonides in later authors. We associate the echoes that we recognize with the originals that we know, and so we reinforce a process of selection while failing to perceive many other resonances before us. Simonides' presence in the poetry of Callimachus and Theocritus is, at least in part, fairly self-evident. A close reading of the fragments we owe to the Apollonius scholia reveals another intricate intertextual rapport and hints at an Apollonian reading of Simonides that is at once part of a larger presence of lyric in the *Argonautica* and also an evocation specifically of Simonides as poetic model. Such a reading also suggests that Simonides had a close interest in some parts of the Argonautica narrative, and may well have composed a work, or works, that focused on the adventures of the Argonauts.

I begin with a discussion of the fragments. (These are, from the Apollonius scholia, *PMG* 534, 540, 558, 575, 596, and 635.) The scholia to Euripides' *Medea* and Pindar's *Pythian* 4 provide further evidence of Simonides' interest in Medea (*PMG* 545–47, 576). A few other Simonidean fragments attest to Simonides' treatment of individual figures of the Argonautica saga (*PMG* 544, 568, 576). In the pages that follow I review the fragments in terms of their place in the Argonautica narrative, the specific passages of Apollonius for which the scholiasts cite them, and any evaluative comments made in the citations. From this review I then attempt an outline of Simonides' treatment of the Argonautica legends and an assessment of this envisioned work as a lyric model for Apollonius.

The individual features for which Simonides is cited include the Golden Fleece itself, perhaps surprisingly, in several citations. I give first that from *Etymologicum Magnum* 597.14, s.v. νάκη (*PMG* 544):

> νάκη· τὸ αἴγειον δέρμα. κωδία καὶ κώδιον· τὸ προβάτειον. οὐκ ἄρα τὸ ἐν Κόλχοις νάκος ῥητέον. κακῶς οὖν Σιμωνίδης
>
> νάκος
>
> φησί.
>
> νάκη. goatskin. κωδία and κώδιον. sheepskin. So νάκος should not be used of the fleece in Colchis, and Simonides wrongly says: νάκος

The second (*PMG* 576) is a scholion to δέρας in line 5 of Euripides' *Medea*, ἀνδρῶν ἀρίστων οἱ τὸ πάγχρυσον δέρας ("of the best men who the all-gold fleece . . ."):

> δέρας. τὸ δέρμα. τοῦτο οἱ μὲν ὁλόχρυσον εἶναί φασιν, οἱ δὲ πορφυροῦν. καὶ Σιμωνίδης ἐν τῶι εἰς Ποσειδῶνα ὕμνωι ἀπὸ τῶν ἐν τῆι θαλάττηι πορφυρῶν κεχρῶσθαι αὐτὸ λέγει.
>
> δέρας. skin. Some say this is all-gold, some purple. Simonides, in his hymn to Poseidon, says it was dyed with purple from the sea.

This scholion finds two parallels, one a scholion to *Argonautica* 4.176–77, τόσσον ἔην, πάντῃ χρύσεον, ἐφύπερθε δ' ἄωτον | βεβρίθει λήνεσσιν ἐπηρεφές ("so great was it, all golden, covered over from above with its flocks of wool"):

> πολλοὶ δὲ χρυσοῦν τὸ δέρας εἰρήκασιν, οἷς Ἀπολλώνιος ἠκολούθησεν, ὁ δὲ Σιμωνίδης ποτὲ μὲν λευκόν, ποτὲ δὲ πορφυροῦν.
>
> Many have called it [*sc*. the fleece] golden, and Apollonius has followed them, but Simonides sometimes calls it white, sometimes purple.

and one a note of Tzetzes (*Chil.* 1.430–31, p. 19 Kiessling):

> Ἀτρέως δ' ἐν τοῖς θρέμμασιν ἦν τι χρυσοῦν ἀρνίον.
> ὁ Σιμωνίδης πορφυροῦν εἶναι δὲ τοῦτο λέγει.
>
> There was a golden lamb among the flocks of Atreus, but Simonides says it was purple.

We can glean a few insights from these assorted witnesses on the fleece. The first is that Simonides composed hymns, or at least one poem that could be taken as a hymn by the *Medea* scholiast.[86] (This is not one of the genres listed by the *Suda* [Σ 439, IV 361 Adler].)[87] A hymn to Poseidon is a likely setting for recounting all or part of the Argonautica narrative. As the first ship, if we assume that Simonides followed this tradition, the *Argo* would find a logical place in a composition dedicated to the sea god; Poseidon is a significant presence in Apollonius's narrative.[88] The enmity of Athena and Poseidon in the Trojan War was likely absent here. The references to the fleece's being purple or purple-dyed

[86] There are hymnic features of, e.g., the Plataea elegy, but the title ἐν τῶι εἰς Ποσειδῶνα ὕμνωι seems rather specific.

[87] So too *partheneia* and *prosōdiai* (both mentioned by Pseudo-Plutarch, *De Musica* 17), and dithyrambs (*AP* 6.213 = *FGE* 27; Strabo 15.3.2).

[88] On their entrance into the Euxine the Argonauts at *Pythian* 4.203–4 establish a shrine to Poseidon: σὺν Νότου δ' αὔραις ἐπ' Ἀξείνου στόμα πεμπόμενοι | ἤλυθον· ἔνθ' ἁγνὸν Ποσειδάωνος ἔσ- | σαντ' ἐνναλίου τέμενος, "urged on by the South Wind's breezes they came to the mouth of the Inhospitable Sea: there they established a sacred shrine to Poseidon of the Sea."

would also fit this setting and accord well with Simonides' vivid use of color imagery in the extant fragments of his poetry.[89]

Several scholia attest to Simonides' interest in individual mythological figures of the Argonautica tale. These include a scholion to *Argonautica* 1.763–74 (*PMG* 540), ἐν καὶ Φρίξος ἦην Μινυήιος, ὡς ἐτεόν περ | εἰσαΐων κριοῦ, ὁ δ' ἄρ' ἐξενέποντι ἐοικώς ("upon it [*sc*. Jason's cloak] was Phrixus the Minyan, truly as though listening to the ram, who resembled one speaking"): τὴν γὰρ Ἰωλκὸν Μινύαι ᾤκουν, ὥς φησι Σιμωνίδης ἐν Συμμίκτοις ("The Minyans inhabited Iolcus, as Simonides says in his *Symmikta*"). The term *symmikta* (or *symmeikta*) as a classificatory designation in the Hellenistic period may have a number of connotations.[90] Whether this is Simonides' term or one used to classify his works at a later period (perhaps more likely; this is clearly a classificatory term) is not entirely clear. The scholion provides evidence of Simonides' interest in the Argonautica in a work (or works) other than a hymn to Poseidon.

As the scholia reveal, the sons of Boreas and Oreithyia, Zetes and Calaïs, are another point of contact between the works of Simonides and Apollonius. The Apollonius passage (1.211–15) recounts the rape of Oreithyia and the birth of her two sons:

> Ζήτης αὖ Κάλαΐς τε Βορήιοι υἷες ἱκέσθην,
> οὕς ποτ' Ἐρεχθηὶς Βορέῃ τέκεν Ὠρείθυια
> ἐσχατιῇ Θρῄκης δυσχειμέρου· ἔνθ' ἄρα τήνγε
> Θρηίκιος Βορέης ἀνερέψατο Κεκροπίηθεν,
> Εἰλισσοῦ προπάροιθε χορῷ ἔνι δινεύουσαν

> Further came Zetes and Calaïs, the sons of Boreas, whom once Oreithyia, daughter of Erechtheus, bore Boreas in farthest wintry Thrace. For there Thracian Boreas carried her off from the Cecropian land, where at Ilissus she twirled in the dance.

The scholion to these lines (p. 26 Wendel) recounts a Simonidean version of the rape of Oreithyia (534 *PMG*):[91]

> τὴν δὲ Ὠρείθυιαν Σιμωνίδης ἀπὸ Βριλησσοῦ ἁρπαγεῖσαν ἐπὶ τὴν Σαρπηδονίαν πέτραν τῆς Θράικης ἐνεχθῆναι. . . . ἡ δὲ Ὠρείθυια Ἐρεχθέως θυγάτηρ, ἣν ἐξ Ἀττικῆς ἁρπάσας ὁ Βορέας ἤγαγεν εἰς Θράικην κἀκεῖσε συνελθὼν ἔτεκε Ζήτην καὶ Κάλαιν, ὡς Σιμωνίδης ἐν τῆι Ναυμαχίαι.

> Simonides says that Oreithyia was snatched from Mount Brilessus and taken to the Sarpedonian Rock in Thrace. . . . Oreithyia was the daughter of

[89] Cf. *PMG* 543.12, κυανέιωι δνόφωι; 16–17, πορφυρέαι | ἐν χλανίδι; 550, φοινίκεον ἱστίον; 553, ἰοστεφάνου.

[90] See Gutzwiller 1998a: 25.

[91] This scholion also attributes versions of this legend to Stesichorus (S87 = fr. 183 *PMGF*) and Choerilus of Samos (*SH* 321).

> Erechtheus, whom Boreas, after snatching from Attica, took to Thrace, where he slept with her and fathered Zetes and Calaïs, as Simonides says in his *Sea Battle*.

The poem referred to here as the *Sea Battle* has been generally thought to be the poem that the *Suda* identifies as ἡ ἐπ' Ἀρτεμισίῳ ναυμαχία, "the naval battle at Artemisum."[92] This attribution has been called into question somewhat by M. L. West's (1993) interpretation of one papyrus fragment (*P.Oxy*. 3965 fr. 20.5) to read Ζήτην καὶ] Κάλαϊ[ν, a fragment assigned to the Plataea elegy. For our reading of Apollonius's Simonides the problematic attribution is less relevant than the fact that we now have elements of the Argonautica legend attributed to Simonides in what appear to be three rather distinct poetic genres, hymn, *symmeikta* (epigram?), elegiac narrative. West attributes the reference to Simonides in a further Apollonius scholion (to *Arg*. 1.583–84 = *PMG* 635) to Simonides' Artemisium poem: νῆσος γὰρ ἡ Σκίαθος τῆς Θεσσαλίας ἐγγὺς Εὐβοίας, ἧς καὶ Σιμωνίδης μέμνηται ("for Sciathus is an island in Thessaly near Euboea, which Simonides also mentions"). The attribution is not certain,[93] but the passage in Apollonius is especially noteworthy, as Sciathus is the first geographical feature that the Argonauts see on their voyage. Although φαίνομαι and similar verbs are used of many phenomena that "appear" within the range of vision of the *Argo*'s sailors, Sciathus is the first. The island is further characterized as εἰναλίη (*Arg*. 1.583)—not in itself perhaps remarkable in its association here, but noteworthy when we recall that Nereus in Simonides' Plataea elegy is termed εἰν]αλίου Νηρέος. This seems a particularly Simonidean resonance at the opening of the *Argo*'s voyage.[94]

Scholia attest Simonidean versions of further aspects of the *Argo*'s voyage. One is the Clashing Rocks, which Simonides termed either συνορμάδας or συναρβώδας.[95] Simonides, like Pindar (*Pyth*. 4.253) recounted the Argonauts' contest for a cloak on Lemnos.[96] A scholion to Plato's *Republic* attests

[92] S.v. Σιμωνίδης 10–13 (IV 361 Adler): καὶ γέγραπται αὐτῷ Δωρίδι διαλέκτῳ ἡ Καμβύσου καὶ Δαρείου βασιλεία καὶ Ξέρξου ναυμαχία καὶ ἡ ἐπ' Ἀρτεμισίῳ ναυμαχία, δι' ἐλεγείας· ἡ δ' ἐν Σαλαμῖνι μελικῶς.

[93] There are other contexts in which Simonides might have mentioned Sciathus. As Rutherford (2001: 36) notes, Simonides may have composed a paean for a Sciathian *theōria*.

[94] This is, further, the sole occasion on which Apollonius uses the epithet εἰνάλιος.

[95] Schol. Eur. *Med*. 2, II 141 Schw. (*PMG* 546): τὰς Συμπληγάδας ὁ Σιμωνίδης συνορμάδας φησίν. The term is also attributed to Eratosthenes by Tzetzes *ad* Lycophron, *Alexandra* 1285.

[96] Schol. Pind. *Pyth*. 4.451, II 160 Dr. (*PMG* 547): καὶ γὰρ καὶ παρὰ Σιμωνίδηι ἐστὶν ἡ ἱστορία, ὅτι περὶ ἐσθῆτος ἠγωνίσαντο (*sc*. οἱ Ἀργοναῦται), "this story is also found in Simonides, that they [*sc*. the Argonauts] contended for a cloak." The attribution is tantalizing for what it might mean for Apollonius's reconfiguration of a cloak now as a prized object worn by Jason (the ecphrasis of *Arg*. 1.721–67). While the cloak of Pindar's contest at *Pyth*. 4.253 is simply ἐσθᾶτος, one cannot help wondering what Simonides, who is capable of the rich visual and tactile imagery of *PMG* 543 (the *Danaē* fragment) might have done with this. This is not to say that Apollonius's ecphrasis, with its elaborate detailed panels, was necessarily inspired by Simonides; but something of its wealth of color and imagery may have been.

Simonides' interest in the Cretan figure Talus, another vivid moment in the Argonautica narrative.[97] Perhaps also from a treatment of the Argonautica comes the lyric description of nature's enjoyment of Orpheus's song that Tzetzes (*Chil.* 1.12.309–12, p. 14 Kiessling = *PMG* 567) ascribes to Simonides:

ὡς γράφει που περὶ αὐτοῦ καὶ Σιμωνίδης οὕτω·

τοῦ καὶ ἀπειρέσιοι
πωτῶντ' ὄρνιθες ὑπὲρ κεφαλᾶς,
ἀνὰ δ' ἰχθύες ὀρθοὶ
κυανέου 'ξ ὕδατος ἅλ-
λοντο καλᾶι σὺν ἀοιδᾶι.

So Simonides writes about him [*sc*. Orpheus] somewhere thus: numberless birds flew over his head and straight up from the dark water fish leapt at his beautiful song.

The pathetic fallacy of nature's pleasure in Orpheus's song recurs in Apollonius's poem several times (e.g., in his initial portrayal of the singer),[98] but there is one passage in particular (*Arg.* 1.572–79) that catches the same detail of the fish rising from the water, as though led by Orpheus's singing.[99]

τοὶ δὲ βαθείης
ἰχθύες ἀίσσοντες ὑπὲξ ἁλός, ἄμμιγα παύροις
ἄπλετοι, ὑγρὰ κέλευθα διασκαίροντες ἔποντο.
'Ως δ' ὁπότ' ἀγραύλοιο μετ' ἴχνια σημαντῆρος
μυρία μῆλ' ἐφέπονται ἄδην κεκορημένα ποίης
εἰς αὖλιν, ὁ δέ τ' εἶσι πάρος, σύριγγι λιγείῃ
καλὰ μελιζόμενος νόμιον μέλος· ὣς ἄρα τοί γε
ὠμάρτευν·

[97] Schol. (TW) Plat. *Rep.* 337a, p. 192 Greene (= Simonides fr. 568 *PMG*): Σιμωνίδης δὲ ἀπὸ Τάλω τοῦ χαλκοῦ ὃν Ἥφαιστος ἐδημιούργησε Μίνωι φύλακα τῶς νήσου ποιήσασθαι. ἔμψυχον ὄν τοὺς πελάζοντας, φησί, κατακαῖον ἀνήιρει. ὅθεν ἀπὸ τοῦ σεσηρέναι διὰ τὴν φλόγα τὸν σαρδάνιόν φησι λεχθῆναι γέλωτα. ὁμοίως καὶ Σοφοκλῆς ἐν Δαιδάλωι (fr. 160 Rad.), "Simonides says it [the expression "sardonic laughter"] is from Talus, the bronze figure that Hephaestus created for Minos as guard of the island; it was alive, he says, and destroyed those who approached it by burning them up; whence from their grinning in the flames, he says, comes the expression 'sardonic laughter': so also Sophocles in his *Daidalos*."

[98] *Arg.* 1.26–31: Αὐτὰρ τόν γ' ἐνέπουσιν ἀτειρέας οὔρεσι πέτρας | θέλξαι ἀοιδάων ἐνοπῇ ποταμῶν τε ῥέεθρα. | Φηγοὶ δ' ἀγριάδες, κείνης ἔτι σήματα μολπῆς, | ἀκτῇ Θρηικίῃ Ζώνης ἔπι τηλεθόωσαι | ἑξείης στιχόωσιν ἐπήτριμοι, ἃς ὅ γ' ἐπιπρό | θελγομένας φόρμιγγι κατήγαγε Πιερίηθεν, "but he they say charmed the unyielding mountain rocks and river streams with his voice: witnesses yet of that song are the wild oaks that flourish on the Thracian headland of Zone, close together in rows, that, charmed by his lyre, Orpheus once led down from Pieria."

[99] Though not inanimate, fish were generally thought in the Hellenistic period to be mute: cf. Callim. fr. 533; Acosta-Hughes 2002: 187; Bing 1981. Hence their response to Orpheus's song has to be differently configured, which may be the point in part here.

> And above the deep sea fish, leaping up, huge ones together with small, followed, darting along the wet pathways. As when upon the footsteps of their rustic guide many flocks follow, sufficiently sated with grass, to their fold, and he goes before them, on his shrill pipe beautifully playing a shepherd's song—so too did they accompany him.

The appearance of Sciathus, discussed earlier, immediately follows this passage. The juxtaposition of two passages with Simonidean parallels, both at the very opening of the Argonauts' journey, suggests a strong evocation of Simonides.

The remaining parallels (*PMG* 545, 558, 575, and 596) form a thematic cluster that centers on the narrative of Medea's love for Jason. There are several probable models for the extraordinary erotic narrative of Apollonius's poem, among them extant and lost fifth-century tragic works.[100] Apollonius, however, signals the opening and closing of this narrative (the prooimia of *Argonautica* 3 and 4) as, at least in part, lyric. Is this not meant as a gesture to his lyric models? The one surviving lyric model for Apollonius's poem, Pindar's *Pythian* 4, while including the erotic episode in its narrative, is something of a synoptic treatment. The Simonidean fragments hint at a somewhat more detailed portrayal than Pindar's. The first in order of narrative sequence (*PMG* 575), from a scholion to *Argonautica* 3.26, παιδὶ ἑῷ εἰπεῖν ὀτρύνομεν, αἴ κε πίθηται ("let us urge her [*sc*. Aphrodite] to speak to her son [*sc*. Eros], if he'll obey"), touches on the parentage of Eros, something Apollonius ironically evokes in the opening of *Argonautica* 3:[101]

> Ἀπολλώνιος μὲν Ἀφροδίτης τὸν Ἔρωτα γενεαλογεῖ, . . . Σιμωνίδης δὲ Ἀφροδίτης καὶ Ἄρεως·
>
> > σχέτλιε παῖ δολομήδεος Ἀφροδίτας
> > τὸν Ἄρηι †δολομηχάνωι τέκεν
>
> Apollonius makes Eros the child of Aphrodite . . . but Simonides of Aphrodite and Ares, "cruel child of wile-weaving Aphrodite, whom she bore to [guile-contriving] Ares."

Simonides' genealogy for Eros is attested twice elsewhere; the attestations themselves suggest that Simonides' depiction of the god was well known.[102] In part Simonides' parentage of the god is a response to Hesiod's genealogy of Eros

[100] Euripides' *Colchian Women* would be of particular interest here.

[101] In the second line of verse quoted in this scholion, the mss. give δολομηχάνωι, which some scholars choose to emend. The variation on δολο- and the play with initial sounds δ, α, τ, α, δ ,τ is worth noting.

[102] Schol. Theocr. 17.1–2 (p. 258 Wendel): τὸν Ἔρωτα . . . Σιμωνίδης Ἄρεος καὶ Ἀφροδίτης, "Simonides calls Eros the son of Ares and Aphrodite." Serv. *ad* Verg. *Aen*. 1.664 (190–91 Thilo-Hagen): "secundum Simoniden qui dicit Cupidinem ex Venere tantum esse progenitum; quamquam alii dicant ex ipsa et Marte, alii ex ipsa et Vulcano," "according to Simonides, who says Cupid is the child of Venus alone; others say of her and Mars, others of her and Vulcan."

in the *Theogony*,[103] and to the subsequent depictions of the god in Archaic poetry that characterize him as an adult. Simonides' apostrophe of the god is unusual, indeed one might term it Hellenistic for characterizing him as a child—for it is precisely this feature, the child god, that is the outstanding element of Apollonius's narrative in *Argonautica* 3. There is, in other words, more to the scholion's citation than simply the genealogy. We would do well to consider here the logic behind the process of scholiastic citation, one that generally, no differently than our own, inclines to the generically and thematically appropriate. It is therefore very likely, even if it cannot be proven with the existing evidence, that the scholiast cites this passage of Simonides not only for its subject matter but also for its place in Simonides' poetry. The citation is not random but looks to an earlier treatment of the same thematic model. That Apollonius at *Argonautica* 4.445 in his celebrated denunciation of Eros as bearer of suffering to mortals opens his apostrophe with σχέτλι' Ἔρως makes this case all the stronger.

A scholion to *Argonautica* 4.1212–14 (*PMG* 596) also suggests that Simonides composed a work (or works) that treated the story of Medea's love for Jason. The lines in Apollonius, which detail the subsequent settling of the Colchians, follow directly on the Phaeacian wedding of Jason and Medea:

> εἰσότε Βακχιάδαι, γενεὴν Ἐφύρηθεν ἐόντες
> ἀνέρες ἐννάσσαντο μετὰ χρόνον, οἱ δὲ περαίην
> νῆσον ἔβαν·

until men, Bacchiads going back to Ephyra, in time came to dwell there, and they [*sc*. the Colchians] went over to the other side of the island.

The scholion reads:

> Ἐφύρα ἡ Κόρινθος ἀπὸ Ἐφύρας τῆς Ἐπιμηθέως θυγατρός. Σιμωνίδης δὲ ἀπὸ Ἐφύρας τῆς Ὠκεανοῦ καὶ Τηθύος, γυναικὸς δὲ γενομένης Ἐπιμηθέως.

Ephyra is Corinth, from Ephyra the daughter of Epimetheus. But Simonides has her as the daughter of Oceanus and Tethys, and wife of Epimetheus.

Two associations are intriguing in this scholion: the place of the episode in Apollonius's narrative and the association with Corinth. Thus Apollonius obliquely introduces the end of Jason and Medea's union following his detail of its begin-

[103] Hes. *Th*. 116–22: Ἤτοι μὲν πρώτιστα Χάος γένετ'· αὐτὰρ ἔπειτα | Γαῖ' εὐρύστερνος, πάντων ἕδος ἀσφαλὲς αἰεὶ | ἀθανάτων οἳ ἔχουσι κάρη νιφόεντος Ὀλύμπου, | [Τάρταρά τ' ἠερόεντα μυχῷ χθονὸς εὐρυοδείης,] | ἠδ' Ἔρος, ὃς κάλλιστος ἐν ἀθανάτοισι θεοῖσι, | λυσιμελής, πάντων τε θεῶν πάντων τ' ἀνθρώπων | δάμναται ἐν στήθεσσι νόον καὶ ἐπίφρονα βουλήν. "First there arose Chaos, then broad-chested Earth, ever the sure seat of the immortals who hold the peaks of snowy Olympus, and misty Tartarus in the depth of the broad land, and Love, fairest among the immortal gods, limb-loosening, he overcomes the mind and sensible course in the breasts of all, mortals and immortals alike."

ning. Another scholion, this one to Euripides, *Medea* 19 (*PMG* 545), also attributes to Simonides a link between Medea and Corinth (again in conjunction with the poet Eumelus of Corinth):[104]

> ὅτι δὲ καὶ ἐβασίλευσε Κορίνθου ἱστοροῦσιν Εὔμηλος [fr. 3B Davies] καὶ Σιμωνίδης λέγων οὕτως·
>
> ὁ δ' ἵκετ' ἐς Κόρινθον, οὐ Μαγνησίαν
> ναῖ', ἀλόχῳ δὲ Κολχίδι ξυνέστιος
> †θράνου† Λεχαίου τ' ἄνασσε.
>
> He [*sc*. Jason] came to Corinth, and did not dwell in Magnesia, but with his Colchian wife sharing his hearth . . . ruled over Lechaeum.

Two further fragments of Simonides touch on Medea's otherworldliness. The first, from a scholion to Euripides, *Medea* 19 (II 144 Schw. cod. B), has Simonides (here in conjunction with Pherecydes) recount Medea's rejuvenation of Jason:

> Φερεκύδης [*FGrH* fr. 113a–b] δὲ καὶ Σιμωνίδης φασὶν ὡς ἡ Μήδεια ἀνεψήσασα τὸν Ἰάσονα νέον ποιήσειε.
>
> Pherecydes and Simonides say that Medea boiled Jason and made him young.

The second is a scholion to *Argonautica* 4.814–15, from Hera's promise to Thetis (811–15) that her son will one day wed Medea, Εὖτ' ἂν ἐς Ἠλύσινον πεδίον τεὸς υἱὸς ἵκηται . . . χρειώ μιν κούρης πόσιν ἔμμεναι Αἰήταο | Μηδείης ("when your son arrives at the Elysian Plain . . . it is fated that he be the husband of Aeetes' daughter Medea"). The scholion gives a transmission of this legend, which appears poignantly juxtaposed to the narrative of Jason and Medea's love in Apollonius's Book 4.[105]

> ὅτι δὲ Ἀχιλλεὺς εἰς τὸ Ἠλύσιον πεδίον παραγενόμενος ἔγημε Μήδειαν πρῶτος Ἴβυκος (*PMGF* 291) εἴρηκε, μεθ' ὃν Σιμωνίδης.
>
> First Ibycus, and following him Simonides, told that Achilles, when he reached the Elysian Plain, married Medea.

Let us step back and consider what this survey has given us. First of all, there are quite a number of Simonidean fragments associated with the legend of the *Argo*'s voyage. Many of the Simonides fragments that survive through indirect

[104] A scholion to line 9 of the same play has a similar attribution: ὅτι δὲ βεβασίλευκε τῆς Κορίνθου ἡ Μήδεια, Εὔμηλος ἱστορεῖ καὶ Σιμωνίδης, "Eumelus and Simonides tell that Medea was queen of Corinth."

The text of this poetic fragment, which is very unsure, is taken from Campbell 1991: III 440.

[105] Achilles, last seen as a baby in Chiron's arms at *Arg*. 1.553–58, is the other child figure, along with Eros in Book 3, erotically entwined with Medea. Cf. Alcaeus fr. 42.

transmission attest the poet's interest in mythological material, but the preponderance of references to the Argonautica legend is indicative of something more.[106] These fragments from Simonides' Argonautica material show an interest especially in the marvelous (e.g., the Symplegades, Talus, the power of Orpheus's song over nature), the erotic (e.g., the child Eros, Medea's handling of Jason's body), and Corinth. The majority of known Simonidean resonances occur in Books 1 and 4 of the *Argonautica*. The two figures for whose portrayal Apollonius appears to have used Simonidean features are Orpheus and Medea. From the shards that remain we can hypothesize a Simonidean treatment of the *Argo*'s voyage, probably in several works but perhaps preponderantly in one, that touched on a fairly wide panorama of episodes, among them a treatment of the erotic narrative of Jason and Medea, and that shared with Apollonius's poem a characterization of Eros as a child.

Pindar's *Pythian* 4 takes pride of place as Apollonius's lyric model in large part because it survives. Easy reference to both works, supported by references in the scholia, foreground the poem's importance for Apollonius's creation. Indeed it is a significant model. Its significance is as a foundation myth and for the synoptic element that recurs in Apollonius's narrative, but other lyric poets, among them Simonides, might be sources for much of the rest. Pindar's is not the only lyric voice that resonates in Apollonius's poem: Sappho's song φαίνεταί μοι κῆνος is clearly a component in Apollonius's moving portrayal of Medea's psychology in *Argonautica* 3. The frequent citations of Ibycus in the scholia to *Argonautica* 1 suggest his importance for mythological parallels. Simonides is also part of Apollonius's reading of earlier lyric, a reading that he recasts into the lyric tones of his epic narrative. Here we have a parallel in one of the figures of the poem itself. Orpheus in *Argonautica* 1 is both component of an epic catalogue and lyric singer whom fishes follow.

5.5. The *Syllogē Simonideia*

πολλὰ μὲν ἐμπλέξας Ἀνύτης κρίνα, πολλὰ δὲ Μοιροῦς
λείρια, καὶ Σαπφοῦς βαιὰ μὲν ἀλλὰ ῥόδα,
νάρκισσόν τε τορῶν Μελανιππίδου ἔγκυον ὕμνων,
καὶ νέον οἰάνθης κλῆμα Σιμωνίδεω,
σὺν δ' ἀναμὶξ πλέξας μυρόπνουν εὐάνθεμον ἶριν
Νοσσίδος, ἧς δέλτοις κηρὸν ἔτηξεν Ἔρως·

(Meleager 1.5–10 GP)

[106] Other mythological subject material of Simonides' lost verse included Odysseus and the daughters of Anius (Schol. Hom. *Od*. 6.164 = *PMG* 537), Memnon and Tithonus (Strabo 15.3.2 = *PMG* 539), Agamemnon (Schol. Eur. *Or.* 46 = *PMG* 549), Theseus and the Minotaur (Plutarch, *Life of Theseus* 17.4 = *PMG* 550) and Europa (Ar. Byz. fr. 124 Slater = *PMG* 562).

> He wove in many of Anyte's lilies, and many of Moero too, and of Sappho few, but those were roses, narcissus laden with the piercing sounds of Melanippides, and young bough of Simonides' vine, with these he plaited the perfume-breathing flowery iris of Nossis, on whose tablets Love had melted the wax.

The epigrams ascribed to Simonides present unusual challenges to the modern reader of Alexandrian poetry, particularly in terms of assessing a uniquely Alexandrian reading of his poetry.[107] Whereas we now would not necessarily ascribe the majority of these poems to Simonides, Hellenistic scholars did. By the time Meleager composed his epigrammatic collection in the first century BCE, Simonides had attained the reputation of an epigrammatist. Our concern is less with the historicity of Simonides' epigrams than whether any were thought to be his.[108] This concern might be phrased as several discrete questions. Did the poets of the third century BCE conceive of Simonides, primarily or associatively, as an author of epigrams? What does this mean for his reception in a later period? When did a collection of Simonides' epigrams come into circulation, and how did later epigrams come to be included in this? What was the nature of the so-called *Syllogē Simonideia* and its role as artistic model?

The answer to the first point is largely positive. Not only does Simonides' prominent place in the opening lines of Meleager's proem,[109] and likewise the number of epigrams ascribed to Simonides in the Meleagrean sections of the *Palatine Anthology*, confirm this perception of the Archaic poet, but Callimachus fragment 64 (*The Tomb of Simonides*) provides a revealing third-century poetic attestation.[110] A conceit of the poem, which I discussed earlier in this

[107] The term *Syllogē Simonideia* is originally Reitzenstein's (1893: 116). Meleager, though, probably drew on an earlier collection of Simonides' epigrams; see Sider 2007.

[108] The most recent treatments of the epigrams attributed to Simonides are Sider 2007 and Bravi 2006. On the epigrams ascribed to Simonides, Boas 1905 remains of significant value. See further Page's extensive introductory remarks in his *Further Greek Epigrams* (Page 1981: 119–23); and Gutzwiller 1998a: 49–53.

[109] Simonides, together with the enigmatic Melanippides (see *HE* II 597–98), is set in the opening of Meleager's catalogue, in a section otherwise cast as feminine. Οἰάνθης κλῆμα, if this does indeed refer, as Page (*HE* II 598) suggests, to the grapevine, is the one element in this first section that is not a flower.

[110] Early prose attestations include Hdt. 7.228 (on the seer Megistias: 6 GP), Aristot. *Rhef*. 137^{b}21 (epitaph of Archedice, which Thuc. gives without author at 6.59), and Theompompus (*FGrH* II 115 fr. 287), cited by the scholia to Pind. *Ol*. 13.32b, here given without attestation, but apparently also given by Timaeus (*ap*. Athen. 13.573c) with attestation to Simonides. I am inclined to take Callim. fr. 64 rather seriously as evidence that epigrams were attributed to Simonides already in the third century BCE, and so would rephrase Page's (1981: 120) assertion: "No other author earlier than Aristotle, and only one between Aristotle and Meleager (*c*. 100 B.C.), ever names Simonides as the author of an epigram." Gutzwiller (1998a: 51) suggests that Aristophanes of Byzantium's discussion (Ar. Byz. fr. 5 Slater) of the word ἄσιλλα in 41 *FGE* (cited by Eustathius, *Od.* 1761.25 as παρὰ Σιμωνίδῃ) provides a terminus ante quem for the Simonidean collection, and acutely observes: "Since epigram had acquired the status of a recognized literary category by at least the 270s, we may

chapter, is Simonides as author of his own epitaph. This play on the nature of inscriptional (as opposed to literary) epigram works only if the poet can be credibly perceived as an epigrammatist. While one informing feature of this poem is the Hellenistic predilection for poems on the tombs of Archaic poets, the point of this poem is something more.[111] Callimachus casts Simonides as an epigrammatic author, just as in fragment 75 he casts Xenomedes as a chronicler. This characterization comes considerably earlier than Meleager's *Garland*.[112]

Both Callimachus and Theocritus in Simonidean passages of their poetry characterize Simonides as artist of several poetic types. Theocritus at *Idyll* 16.34–47 and Callimachus in fragment 64 can both be read as evoking the voice of multiple poetic genres. It is noteworthy that the latter presents Simonides, speaker of his own sepulchral epigram, in the course of an elegy (same meter, longer poem, part of an even longer one). Both Callimachus and Theocritus are recognized authors of epigrams, among other poetic genres. In a period that saw the ongoing evolution of epigram from purely inscriptional to literary form, Simonides would have provided an important example of a poet facile in a variety of poetic types who was also known to have excelled at the composition of epigrams. The subsequent attribution in the Hellenistic period of a large number of later epigrams to Simonides lends this characterization significant support.

The epigrams attributed to Simonides exhibit a wide variety of compositional types and a broad artistic range.[113] Again, for an assessment of an Alexandrian reading of Simonides, the historical accuracy or even likelihood of attribution is of less importance than associative value.[114] In considering this collection, the *Syllogē Simonideia*, in terms of its Alexandrian audience, there are a couple of features of these poems that stand out: the poems of praise, the celebration of artistic works and artists, and the range of the collection, which finds a parallel in the range of the new Posidippus epigrams (*P.Mil.Vogl.* VIII 309).[115] The dedicatory and funerary epigrams include at least three (*FGE* 26a and 26b, the epitaph of Archedice and the dedication of an altar by Hippias's son Peisistratus; and *FGE* 36, the epitaph for Xanthippe, great-granddaughter of Periander) that would fall under a broad definition of court poetry. Two of these celebrate female figures. The number of Simonidean epigrams that celebrate those who fell

safely assume that epigrams attributed to Simonides would have been sought out and properly ordered no later than the time of Callimachus' *Pinakes*." I would carry this one step further and say that Callim. fr. 64 confirms this. Again, the possible connotations of ἐγκατέλεξεν in line 7 of Callimachus's poem are intriguing.

[111] On this tradition, see esp. Bing 1993; Rossi 2001: 98–101.

[112] On pre-Meleagrean collection of Simonides, see Bravi 2006: 28–30.

[113] On the themes of Simonidean epigram, see Bravi 2006: 30–36.

[114] As Page (1981: 121–22) observes, even those epigrams that ultimately derive from Meleager's *Garland* are of quite varied types.

[115] Cf. Bravi 2006: 25–26.

fighting the Persians demonstrates that, in the genre of epigram too, Simonides takes on the role of "postwar immortalizer."[116] As a potential artistic model for short poetry celebrating royal successes, Simonides has obvious appeal. Several of the epigrams celebrate athletic victories; several detail statuary (e.g., *FGE* 66, on Praxiteles' statue of Eros). Two epigrams (*FGE* 28 and 85) refer to their author, a feature not found in early epigram but one indicative of the Hellenistic epigrammatist's evocation of artistic persona. The play in two poems (*FGE* 84 and 85) on the conventions of funerary epigram parallel other Hellenistic paired epigrams (especially Callimachus, *Epigrams* 29 and 30 GP = 21 and 35 Pf.). That this sort of play could be attributed to Simonides is important in evaluating him, and the epigrams attributed to him, as the model for later variations on funerary epigram:[117]

οἱ μὲν ἐμὲ κτείναντες ὁμοίων ἀντιτύχοιεν,
Ζεῦ ξένι', οἱ δ' ὑπὸ γᾶν θέντες ὄναιντο βίου.

As to those who slew me, may they fare likewise, Zeus Xenios, but may those who buried me have enjoyment of life.

οὗτος ὁ τοῦ Κείοιο Σιμωνίδου ἐστὶ σαωτήρ,
ὃς καὶ τεθνηκὼς ζῶντι παρέσχε χάριν.

This is the savior of the Cean Simonides, who even though dead rendered thanks to the living.

This distich can be read as a somewhat complex Hellenistic rendering of the simple memorials that are included among the epigrams ascribed to Simonides, and for which he was apparently renowned.[118] The poet, author of funerary epitaphs, is the subject. But the subject is not the voice that claims to speak for the tomb. The Cean, Simonides, is known for his funerary epigrams, but where he would not in the ordinary course of things be named (that is, in the funerary epigram he composes), he is named—and it is his, the poet's, name, rather than that of the dead man, that is preserved. In an odd irony that reflects the development of epigram and its interpretive possibilities, the poet has displaced the dead. And Simonides, author of epigram, is here, as in Callimachus fragment 64, recalled through absence.

[116] Again, the term is Barchiesi's (1996: 20). On these epigrams, see Bravi 2006: 42–47.

[117] The first of these (*AP* 7.516) is preserved in one of the Meleagrean sections of the *Palatine Anthology.* Page (1981: 299) suggests that two poems "are good examples of the fictitious epigram specially composed to add colour and verisimilitude to an anecdote about a famous man," and adds (300) that these are unlikely to be earlier than the Hellenistic era. Gutzwiller (1998a: 49) includes these with other epigrams attributed to Simonides that appear to owe their origin to Peripatetic literary biography (e.g., the fourth-century Chamaeleon's *Περὶ Σιμωνίδου*). For the Alexandrian reception of Simonides, this biographical tradition could clearly have played a central role.

[118] Some of these are among the epigrams most likely to have been actually composed by Simonides.

5.6. Conclusion

To work with the Greek poetry of these two eras, the Archaic and Hellenistic periods, is to become the observer of an artistic and cultural dialogue. This interaction affects our reading of the literature of both periods. Hellenistic poetry, the collective reader of earlier culture, is at the same time this earlier culture's artistic result. The relationship is one at once of distance and continuum. In the case of Simonides, his integral place in Greek poetry is in part obscured for us by the loss of his work. The later emulation of his song preserves it for us, and more, perhaps, than we realize. As a model for the Alexandrians, Simonides' appeal is self-evident. We are only beginning to ascertain the Simonidean character of their art.

Appendix

The Alexandrian Text of Simonides

In the generic and linguistic variety of his poetic compositions, Simonides prefigures Callimachus's own *polyeideia*. This may account in part for his multifaceted role as poetic model, memorialized voice, and figured image in the poetry of the Hellenistic period. The *Suda* life notes that Simonides composed a lyric *Sea Battle at Salamis*, ἡ δ' ἐν Σαλαμῖνι μελικῶς, as well as in the lyric genres of θρῆνοι ("laments"), ἐγκώμια ("praise poems"), and παιᾶνες ("paeans").[119] The *Suda* also assigns Simonides an elegiac *Naval Battle at Artemisium*, ἡ ἐπ' Ἀρτεμισίῳ ναυμαχία, δι' ἐλεγείας. Not only did Simonides compose in both Doric and Ionic,[120] but his poetry is singled out by a scholiast to Aristophanes, *Birds* 917–19, for its "artful" (κατάτεχνα) and "variegated" (ποικίλα) qualities,[121]

[119] *Suda* Σ 439 (IV 361 Adler): καὶ γέγραπται αὐτῷ Δωρίδι διαλέκτῳ †ἡ Καμβύσου καὶ Δαρείου βασιλεία καὶ Ξέρξου ναυμαχία καὶ † ἡ ἐπ' Ἀρτεμισίῳ ναυμαχία δι' ἐλεγείας· ἡ δ' ἐν Σαλαμῖνι μελικῶς· θρῆνοι, ἐγκώμια, ἐπιγράμματα, παιᾶνες καὶ τραγῳδίαι καὶ ἄλλα. "He composed in Doric dialect the reign of Cambyses and Darius and the naval battle against Xerxes and the naval battle at Artemisium, in elegiacs. But the one at Salamis in lyrics. Laments, praise poems, epigrams, paeans, and tragedies, and others." The text is corrupt: see M. West (1992: II 114). The new fragments on the battle at Plataea have greatly increased our knowledge of Simonides' elegiac composition.

[120] Εἰς τοὺς ἐννέα λυρικούς 15–16 (*Schol. Pind*. I 2 Drachmann): ἠδὲ Σιμωνίδεω Κείου Δωριστὶ λαλοῦντος | τὸν πατέρ' αἰνήσας ἴσθι Λεωπρέπεα, "if you speak of the father of Cean Simonides, who spoke Doric, know that he was Leoprepes." Joh. Sic. in Hermog. *Id*. 2.4 (20) (*Rhet. Gr*. VI 399 Walz): ποιητικὴ γὰρ ἡ Ἰὰς καὶ ἡδεῖα ὡς τῶν ἄλλων οὐδεμία· διὸ καὶ τὰ Ἰωνικὰ ποιήματα ἐξαίρουσι ταῖς ἡδοναῖς, ὥσπερ τὰ Σιμωνίδου καὶ Μενελάου καί τινα τῶν Ομήρου Στησιχόρου τε καὶ ἄλλων πολλῶν, "for Ionic is poetical and sweet as no other; for this reason Ionic poems excite with their pleasures, such as those of Simonides and Menelaus and some of Homer, Stesichorus and many others."

[121] Ar. *Birds* 917–19: [Ποι.] μέλη πεπόηκ' εἰς τὰς Νεφελοκοκκυγίας | τὰς ὑμετέρας κύκλιά τε πολλὰ καὶ καλὰ | καὶ παρθένεια καὶ κατὰ τὰ Σιμωνίδου, "songs I've composed for this Cloudcuckooland of yours, many fine dithyrambs and maiden songs and songs in the manner of Simonides."

attributes that themselves emblematize Hellenistic poetics.[122] And again Simonides in his own self-representation prefigures Hellenistic poetics. In the longest of the newly reconstituted fragments of his elegiac poem on the Hellenic victory at Plataea (fr. 11 W), he defines the subject of his song in a gesture at once of acknowledgment of the poetic past and differentiation from this same past (lines 19–22).[123] These lines resonate in tone with the poetry of the Hellenistic period.

Recent extensive work on the new elegiac fragments of Simonides has led to renewed postulation of an Alexandrian edition or editions of Simonides' poems. While the existence of such an edition remains presumed rather than certain, the papyri and other testimonia attest an early and sustained interest in Simonides and in the categorization of his poems. D. Obbink has now reviewed the material supporting an Alexandrian edition.[124] The observations that follow are indebted to his study.

Simonides' epinician odes (ἐπίνικοι) were organized by type of athletic contest, not by festival (as were, e.g., Pindar's).[125] In some cases the surviving fragments of the epinicians themselves provide the titles that attest this organization;[126]

Schol. *ad loc*. (p. 174 White): καὶ κατὰ τὰ Σιμωνίδου· ἤτοι κατάτεχνα, ποικίλα, οἷον ὕμνους, παιᾶνας, προσόδια, καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ τούτοις παραπλήσια, "songs in the manner of Simonides: that is, artful, variegated, such as hymns, paeans, processionals, and the rest like these." On the passage, see Dunbar (1995: 531) and also her discussion (521–22) on Aristophanes' lyric poet who speaks them.

[122] E.g., Theocr. *Id*. 15.78–9: τὰ ποικίλα πρᾶτον ἄθρησον | λεπτὰ καὶ ὡς χαρίεντα, "look first at these variegated things, how fine they are and how pleasing."

[123] Cited above earlier in this chapter. Suggestive in this regard also is Simonides fr. 564 *PMG*: Seleucus, cited at Athen. (*om*. E) 4.172e:

> ὅτι δὲ τὸ ποίημα τοῦτο [*sc*. Ἆθλα ἐπὶ Πελίαι] Στησιχόρου ἐστὶν ἱκανώτατος μάρτυς Σιμωνίδης ὁ ποιητής, ὃς περὶ τοῦ Μελεάγρου τὸν λόγον ποιούμενος φησιν·
>
> ὃς δουρὶ πάντας
> νίκασε νέους, διν̓άεντα βαλὼν
> Ἄναυρον ὕπερ πολυβότρυος ἐξ Ἰόλκου·
> οὕτω γὰρ Ὅμηρος ἠδὲ Στασίχορος ἄεισε λαοῖς.
>
> That this poem [sc. *The Games of Pelias*] is by Stesichorus the poet Simonides is a more than sufficient witness, who in his poem on Meleager says:
>
> > Who with his spear surpassed all the young men, casting it beyond the Anaurus eddying out of Iolcus rich in grapes.
>
> For so sang Homer and Stesichorus to the people.

The apparent compositional self-assessment in terms of poets of two earlier traditions is remarkable, and it may suggest something of the same sort of poetic statement of fr. 11 W. It is unfortunate that more is not known of the context of this passage.

[124] Obbink 2001: 74–81.

[125] Cf. *An. Ox.* Cramer III 254.21: ὁ Σιμωνίδης ἐπέγραψεν Ἐπίνικοι Δρομέσιν. See Obbink 2001: 75 nn. 39, 40.

[126] Frr. 511, 519 fr. 120.b3 *PMG*.

in others it is given by the texts that cite them.[127] It is important to note that this categorization is already present in Callimachus fragment 441, ἐπίνικοι δρομέσι,[128] and may well, as Pfeiffer suggests, be of Callimachean origin.[129] Fragment 441 posits Simonides as an object of Callimachus's scholarly attention; this should be borne in mind when considering Callimachus's Simonides. We know less of the categorization of the other poetic genres.[130] The genre of a few of the longer fragments (541–43 *PMG*), including the fragment on Scopas from Plato's *Protagoras* (542 *PMG*) and the *Danaē* fragment (543 *PMG*), is also uncertain.

A review of the extant papyrus fragments of Simonides reveals indications of both an Alexandrian edition of Simonides and the readership of and scholarship on such an edition.[131] A single hand copied two Oxyrhynchus papyri (*P.Oxy*. 2430 [*PMG* 519] and *P.Oxy*. 2327), the first of them an extensive group of fragments of choral lyric, namely 166 fragments, of which a few contain five or more consecutive lines with a few complete words. The second (*P.Oxy*. 2327) preserves elegiacs and is one of the papyri (with *P.Oxy*. 3965) that preserves Simonides' elegy on the battle of Plataea. This same hand copied a third Oxyrhynchus papyrus (*P.Oxy*. 2318), a fragment of Archilochus, and a fourth containing fragments of a commentary on Alcman (*P.Oxy*. 2390). That the same hand copied both Simonides papyri becomes more intriguing if, as Page's title in his edition suggests (1962: 248), we have in ἐπινικίων καὶ παιάνων ἀποσπάσματα the remnants of a multigenre papyrus roll of Simonides. Another papyrus from Oxyrhynchus (*P.Oxy*. 3965) is from the same book as Oxyrhynchus papyrus 2327, mentioned above, but from a different copy of it. The marginal notes of both the papyri containing the Plataea elegy (*P.Oxy*. 2327 and *P.Oxy*. 3965) have the names of two scholars of the Imperial period, Apion and Nicanor.[132] A further hint of ancient philological work on Simonides is preserved by a scholion on a papyrus fragment attributed with hesitation to Pindar (*P.Berol*. 13875 = *dubia* fr. 339 Snell-Maehler) that attests a comparative reading of the two poets.[133]

Of particular interest are two papyrus fragments associated with Σιμωνίδεια, perhaps best rendered as "Sayings of Simonides." The first (*P.Oxy*. 2433) is a small label that reads Σιμωνιδείων ὑπ(όμνημα), apparently commentary notes on Simonides' sayings.[134] The second (*P.Hibeh* 17) is a twenty-nine-line

[127] Frr. 512, 513 *PMG*.

[128] Choerob. in Theodos. I 139.6 Hilgard, *An. Ox*. III 254 Cramer = Callim. fr. 441.

[129] Pfeiffer 1960: 130.

[130] See Obbink (2001: 77–81) for what we can ascertain for poetry in other genres.

[131] The points summarized here are outlined in more detail in Acosta-Hughes and Verhoogt 2003.

[132] Rutherford 2001: 34; Obbink 2001: 74.

[133] Σ: ταῦτα πρὸς Σιμωνίδην, ἐν ἑνὶ ᾄσματι ἐπόησεν Σειρῆνα τὸν Πεισίστρατον.

[134] Note, though, the doubts of Snell and Maehler *ad loc*. on the accuracy of this label (1989, *dubia* fr. 339).

fragment consisting of sayings of Simonides on financial expenditure.[135] Here Simonides is shown in the role of figure of wisdom, in discourse with the wife of Hiero I of Syracuse. This reprise of his role in Xenophon's *Hiero* here in the Hibeh papyrus is indicative of a long and evolved tradition of this poet as a wisdom figure.[136] And here in the Hibeh papyrus we encounter Simonides in an association with money, such as occurs elsewhere in reading Simonides in Hellenistic poetry. In the anecdotal tradition that developed around Simonides already in Hellenistic times, this feature too is a part of Simonides as he was received by the later Alexandrian period.

A related if somewhat differently composed issue is the collection of epigrams that has come down to us as ascribed to Simonides.[137] The ascription of anonymous epigrams to celebrated poets of the Archaic and Classical past is a feature of the Hellenistic memorialization of earlier artists, as is the collection of Hellenistic epigrams that purport to be the funeral inscriptions of earlier poets. The exact period when this Simonidean epigrammatic collection came together remains unknown; Gutzwiller is likely right to see the *Syllogē Simonideia* as an "evolving collection or collections" that came together in the fourth and third centuries BCE.[138] Since Wilamowitz outlined the problem of the collection's impact on modern readership of Simonides, current scholarship is inclined to disassociate the poet somewhat from the epigrammatic collection that he inspired—but we should keep in mind that the associative impulse of third-century Alexandria went in the opposite direction. Simonides, widely admired as the epigrammatist memorializer of war dead, becomes in a later period an appropriate inspiration for epigrams that seek to recreate his memorializing voice and is at the same time cast in the role of poet who inscribes sorrow onto stone. Thus a poem like Callimachus's *Tomb of Simonides* (fr. 64), depicting the poet Simonides in the act of fictively creating his own funeral inscription, itself at once captures and comments on the evolution in cultural valence of the earlier singer.

[135] The centered title reads ανηλωματων: the first line (with *ekthesis*), Σιμωνιδου.

[136] Cf. Aristot. *Rhet*. 1391ª2–3.

[137] On these epigrams Boas 1905 is still a very valuable work. Essential now are Page 1981 and Gutzwiller 1998a.

[138] Gutzwiller 1998a: 50: "To my mind the most likely scenario is an evolving collection or collections, perhaps initiated in the fourth century, more certainly edited and ordered by third-century Alexandrian scholars, and gathering accretions throughout the third and second centuries. Such a concept of evolution helps to account for complicated patterns of imitation that have been observed: third-century epigrammatists sometimes seem to be influenced by classical models and sometimes seem themselves to provide the models for epigrams spuriously ascribed to pre-Hellenistic poets."

EPILOGUE

Lyric Transformed

Specific assessments of the figures whom we conventionally term "Archaic lyric poets" in later Hellenistic poetry are rare.[1] There are, however, a couple of anonymous epigrams that evoke both individual poets and outline, indeed may signal the creation of, what we now consider the lyric canon. This short concluding epilogue on Hellenistic poetry's transformation of Archaic lyric models begins with a reading of these epigrams (*AP* 9.184):

Πίνδαρε, Μουσάων ἱερὸν στόμα, καὶ λάλε Σειρὴν
Βακχυλίδη, Σαπφοῦς τ' Αἰολίδες χάριτες,
γράμμα τ' Ἀνακρείοντος, Ὁμηρικὸν ὅς τ' ἀπὸ ῥεῦμα
ἔσπασας οἰκείοις, Στησίχορ', ἐν καμάτοις,
ἥ τε Σιμωνίδεω γλυκερὴ σελὶς, ἡδύ τε Πειθοῦς,
Ἴβυκε, καὶ παίδων ἄνθος ἀμησάμενε,
καὶ ξίφος Ἀλκαίοιο, τὸ πολλάκις αἷμα τυράννων
ἔσπεισεν, πάτρης θέσμια ῥυόμενον,
θηλυμελεῖς τ' Ἀλκμᾶνος ἀηδόνες, ἵλατε, πάσης
ἀρχὴν οἳ λυρικῆς καὶ πέρας ἐστάσατε.

Pindar, holy mouth of the Muses, and loquacious Siren, Bacchylides, and Sappho's Aeolian graces, Anacreon's writing, and you who drew off Homer's stream in works, Stesichorus, of your own, Simonides' sweet page, and you who of Persuasion gathered, Ibycus, the pleasing flower and of boys, and Alcaeus's sword, that often poured tyrants' blood, defending his country's laws, Alcman's female-songed nightingales, be gracious, you, who established of all lyric the beginning and the end.

This anonymously authored epigram of the first century BCE, while in some respects seeming artistically unassuming, captures several central features of the Hellenistic period's reception, understanding, and codification of Archaic lyric. Nine interwoven lines encircle nine poets, while the poem's last line figuratively encircles a poetic kind or genre, each hemiepes establishing a bound, a terminus of the art form. The epigram celebrates a tradition at once established and closed; its author's prayer to the nine poets, the divinities of his brief address, evokes and recreates Archaic lyric's similar moments of prayer: only here those who once were singers are now the subjects of song. The epigram not only

[1] An exception is Callim. fr. 222 (on Simonides).

invokes each of the nine poets by name; it characterizes each in terms of his or her poetry: it defines Archaic lyric.

The poem happens to be the earliest surviving attestation of the categorizing term λυρική ("lyric"), and one of several ancient testimonia to the exclusive canon of lyric poets.[2] We shall return to this point shortly. The characterization of the nine poets combines terms of song and of the written, evoking both the instance of utterance and that of later reference, thus emblematizing the place of occasional song now become an earlier, and preserved, poetry.[3] The vocal imagery (ἱερὸν στόμα, λάλε) captures origin and effect of sound: images of writing (γράμμα, σελίς) figure poets as sign and text. Metaphors for poetic effect or activity—χάριτες, καμάτοις, Πειθοῦς . . . παίδων ἄνθος, θηλυμελεῖς τ' Ἀλκμᾶνος ἀηδόνες—serve at the same time as metaphors for poetry collections. The perception of poets in terms of their poetry, and the repeated conflation in the epigram of poet and poetry, is one signal of reception. Another is the codification of lyric in the epigram form itself. Elegy and epigram come in the later period to assume much of the place of lyric, perhaps especially remarkably so in instances such as this.

The characterizations of the poets, and of their poetry, merit our careful attention.[4] Pindar is here, as often in catalogues of the lyric poets, first, and first with significant qualification:[5] he is the figure immediately associated with the Muses (this is particularly heightened by the first-line caesura), and he is the only figure whose voice is marked as ἱερός ("holy"). Whereas Pindar is the instrument of utterance, and utterance of plural female figures, Bacchylides is sound, and, at that, a single, and female, sound. Sappho's "Aeolian graces" may term both the figurative nature of her poetry, in dialogue and in essence, and, again, metaphorically evoke her text for a later audience. Anacreon's "writing" likewise configures the poet as his work. The anonymous author's portrayal of Stesichorus's verse similarly allows a multilayered interpretation. His drawing

[2] Others include *AP* 9.571 and a twenty-line elegiac poem preserved in the scholia to Pindar, *Ol.* 1.10. Vox and De Martino (1996) helpfully include all the testimonia on the lyric poets, including the *Suda* lives, in the first volume of their edition (43–86).

[3] The following discussion owes much to Vox and De Martino 1996: I.38–41; and Most 1982: 79–80.

[4] The poets become known particularly for one feature, a defining or even narrowing quality of reception. See further P. Rosenmeyer 1992: 138.

[5] Cf. *AP* 9.571.1, ἔκλαγεν ἐκ Θηβῶν μέγα Πίνδαρος, "from Thebes Pindar sounded greatly"; Quintil. 10.1.61, "novem vero lyricorum longe Pindarus princeps spiritu, magnificentia, sententiis, figuris, beatissima rerum verborumque copia et velut quodam eloquentiae flumine," "of the nine lyric poets Pindar is first by far in spirit, grandeur, aphorisms, figures of speech, most happy abundance of subjects and words, and as though a river of eloquence"; Dion. Hal. *Περὶ μιμήσεως* fr. 31.2.5 lines 2–4 Usener-Rademacher, ζηλωτὸς δὲ καὶ Πίνδαρος ὀνομάτων καὶ νοημάτων εἵνεκα, καὶ μεγαλοπρεπείας καὶ περιουσίας κατασκευῆς καὶ δυνάμεως, καὶ πικρίας μετὰ ἡδονῆς, "Pindar is especially to be envied for his expressions and thoughts, his grandeur, the condition [*or*: construction] of his resources [his richness?], his power, and sorrow mixed with pleasure."

off Homer's stream οἰκείοις ἐν καμάτοις ("into his own works") may evoke the directing of the epic singer's themes, figures, or language into his own lyric verse, and at the same time the transference of Ionic song to the Doric West.[6] Simonides, like Anacreon, is figured as his text, the epithet of his verse transferred to that of his physical poetry. The striking zeugma τε Πειθοῦς . . . καὶ παίδων ἄνθος is a complex figure: ἄνθος ἀμησάμενε is another phrase that can evoke poetry, and collections of poetry.[7] Alcaeus, like Stesichorus, garners a somewhat more specific outline: the chiastic αἷμα τυράννων . . . πάτρης θέσμια foregrounds the political nature of much of his verse. Alcman, too, is both poetic voice and collection: the phrase θηλυμελεῖς . . . ἀηδόνες evokes both the singers of his *partheneia* and the *partheneia* as collection of his works.

Epigrams that head, and summarize, collections are a feature of the later Hellenistic period: *AP* 9.205, transmitted with some of the manuscripts of the bucolic corpus, is but one example.[8] This epigram on the nine lyric poets, however, encompasses not a collection but a genre, and as such is an important witness to a later period's reading of Archaic lyric in several senses. The body of lyric poets, of λυρική, is, again, closed. Each figure is in some way classified. The epigram's author propitiates the nine poets as past voices of a past art form. While there is some recollection of the poets as singers, they are also texts.

A second anonymous epigram, *AP* 9.571, catalogues the nine lyric poets slightly differently.

Ἔκλαγεν ἐκ Θηβῶν μέγα Πίνδαρος· ἔπνεε τερπνὰ
ἡδυμελεῖ φθόγγῳ μοῦσα Σιμωνίδεω·
λάμπει Στησίχορός τε καὶ Ἴβυκος· ἦν γλυκὺς Ἀλκμάν·
λαρὰ δ' ἀπὸ στομάτων φθέγξατο Βακχυλίδης·
Πειθὼ Ἀνακρείοντι συνέσπετο· ποικίλα δ' αὐδᾷ
Ἀλκαῖος, κύκνος Λέσβιος, Αἰολίδι.

[6] The close association of Stesichorus with Homer, already present in Simonides fr. 564 *PMG* (οὕτω γὰρ Ὅμηρος ἠδὲ Στασίχορος ἄεισε λαοῖς, "for so Homer and Stesichorus sang to the people"), becomes a standard feature of later treatments of Stesichorus: cf. Dio Chrys. 55.7, Quintil. 10.1.62. *AP* 7.75 (Antipater of Thessalonica) offers a particularly interesting comparison, and we may well wonder whether the image of metempsychosis in its second distich—οὗ, κατὰ Πυθαγόρεω φυσικὰν φάτιν, ἁ πρὶν Ὁμήρου | ψυχὰ ἐνὶ στέρνοις δεύτερον ᾠκίσατο, "in whose [*sc.* Stesichorus's] breast, according to Pythagoras' dictum on nature, Homer's former spirit dwelt a second time"—finds a partial parallel in οἰκείοις . . . ἐν καμάτοις.

[7] Cf. *AP* 4.1.26, Πέρσου τ' εὐώδη σχοῖνον ἀμησάμενος, "on gathering Perses' fair-scented reed." On Ibycus as *paiderastēs*, see the note in the *Suda* s.v. Ἴβυκος (II 607 Adler), γέγονε ἐρωτομανέστατος περὶ μειράκια, "he was especially crazy about youths."

[8] *AP* 9.205, attributed to Artemidorus (see Gow 1952: I lx–lxii):

Βουκολικαὶ Μοῖσαι σποράδες ποκά, νῦν δ' ἅμα πᾶσαι
ἐντὶ μιᾶς μάνδρας, ἐντὶ μιᾶς ἀγέλας.

The Bucolic Muses were once scattered, but now all together are in one fold, one flock.

ἀνδρῶν δ' οὐκ ἐνάτη Σαπφὼ πέλεν, ἀλλ' ἐρατειναῖς
ἐν Μούσαις δεκάτη Μοῦσα καταγράφεται.

From Thebes Pindar sounded greatly, pleasurably breathed Simonides' poetry with sweet-songed voice. Stesichorus and Ibycus were resplendent; Alcman was sweet. Bacchylides gave voice pleasantly from his mouth. Persuasion attended Anacreon. Changefully cried Alcaeus, the Lesbian swan, in Aeolic. Sappho was not ninth among men, but among the lovely Muses is enrolled as tenth Muse.

Again Pindar is first; Simonides' association with sweetness is to become a standard in his reception (possibly from the association of the poet especially with his *thrēnoi*). The epigram's division is striking. Four lines encompass six poets. Pindar and Simonides are frequently associated together in later reception and imitation. The two poets of western Greece, Stesichorus and Ibycus, appear together; they are the only two figures actually paired, here as in much later scholarship. Three poets, in a small variation on tricolon crescendo, occupy the second quatrain, three poets who are often associated together in their later reception. Sappho is set apart. A female voice among male poets, her inscription among the Muses is emblematic not only of her distinction in terms of gender, but also of the preference that seems often accorded her in the later Greek reception of lyric—Sappho's is a lyric voice that particularly caught the attention of the poets of the early Alexandrian period.

That *AP* 9.184 contains the first known use of the term λυρική is an important witness to Hellenistic poetry's classification of these poets. As C. Calame has shown in a convincing study of the designations of the poetry we term, since the Romantic period, "lyric," such a grouping of poets seems in fact to be the result of Alexandrian scholarship. Only Plato's *melopoioi* (*Rep.* 389b–d, 399c), poetry that results from the combination of word, harmony, and rhythm, approaches the later concept of λυρική.[9] The organization of collected poems into papyrus rolls by the Alexandrians may itself have been the instantiation of Greek lyric poetry as a genre, as we now know it. As Calame observes:

Il est en tout cas certain que dans l'état de la documentation à notre disposition et évoquée ici, il est impossible d'affirmer que les poètes de l'époque archaïque respectaient des règles génériques sans doute non écrites, mais conscientes, ni surtout que ces lois furent l'objet dès l'époque classique d'une codification écrite. Il est en revanche certain que les contraintes éditoriales imposées aux philologues alexandrins, notamment par la longueur des rouleaux de papyrus, les on conduits à restreindre le spectre sémantique de catégories génériques encore floues: une classification plus rigoureuse répond aux besoins de l'édition.

[9] Plato, *Rep*. 389b–d, 399c.

Here we may want to think back to several of the Hellenistic poems considered in this study that extensively evoke these earlier authors. Theocritus's *Idyll* 2 is a transformation of two of Sappho's poems in particular, now fragments 1 and 31, into Simaitha's two-part aria—both of these poems were in the first book of Sappho, which brought together the poems in Sapphic strophe. Similarly Dioscorides 18 GP, an epigram that alludes specifically to famous lines of several of Sappho's poems, alludes to poems in the first book. Theocritus's *Idyll* 16 appears to give a characterization of Simonides' poetry that is in part a catalogue. Callimachus in Book 3 of the *Aetia* juxtaposes poems that recreate Pindar, Simonides, and Bacchylides. Theocritus's Aeolic *Idylls* take the metrical forms of two books of Sappho (2 and 3). Hermesianax in his juxtaposition of Alcaeus, Sappho, and Anacreon in his *Leontion* (fr. 7 Powell) is putting together poets of a common association. What we observe here, as Cusset notes, is the influence of editing, and of editions, on poetry.[10] The Alexandrians, like us, though they may know these poets in other types of interaction (the symposium, for example), also know them as edited collections, and this in turn affects not only their reading of poems by one author in relation to one another (as with the first book of Sappho) but also their reading of these poets in comparison with one another, whether in terms of question of classification, dialect, use of rare terms, or other shared features. The exigencies of collection and codification lead also to prioritization—it is indeed very likely that the lyric canon is an Alexandrian creation, and that what we are witnessing, in the juxtaposition of for example, Pindar, Simonides, and Bacchylides in the early part of *Aetia* 3 or Theocritus's use of Pindar and Simonides in *Idyll* 16, is the creative reflection of this process. We owe the Alexandrians not only the preservation of these Archaic poets, for it is due to their interest that these figures were preserved in the first place, but also the way in which we read them.

Arion's Lyre throughout has been concerned with the response of the Alexandrians to earlier Greek poetry in many aspects, and also with the adaptation, reinterpretation, indeed transformation of many of these poems in new social and cultural settings. Alexandrian Sappho is not the same poet as the singer of Archaic Lesbos, but is rather the later cultural evolution of an earlier figure, with associations of her own, whether Ptolemaic politics in the eastern Aegean, powerful Macedonian queens, an Alexandrian scholarship intent on preservation and codification, or the phenomenon of the poetry book itself.[11] As such, *Arion's Lyre* is as much a study of Hellenistic poetic culture as a survey of a selection of the lyric poets it so lovingly preserves. Clearly this study is only part of a larger story. A similar reading of Stesichorus and Alcman would garner an

[10] Cussset 1999: 331.

[11] The evolution of the Alexandrian poet Callimachus into a figure of aesthetic, cultural, even political significance among generations of Roman readers (as M. Asper shows in a very suggestive forthcoming study of Callimachus as favored reading among Roman *equites*) is a good parallel.

enhanced appreciation of the fragments of both poets, and of their later reading as well. Pindar, of course, presents the opportunity for a much larger study. The preservation of the epinicians as well as the abundant Pindar scholia allows not only for an extensive comparative poetic reading but also for study of the later treatment (whether in actual or textual recreation) of what might be termed distinctly choral poetry. And, with his associations with Cyrene, Pindar presents, especially for Callimachus, a unique model.[12] These are works of scholarship that remain to be written. The author hopes that the work on the poetic pentad treated here will aid and encourage their progress.

[12] D'Alessio's (1996) Callimachus is especially good on Pindaric parallels. On Pindar in particular as model for Callimachus, see Asper 1997. On the Alexandrian editions of Pindar, see Negri 2004.

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